Inside: Ottawa strikes a gas deal with Alberta

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 10, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 10, 1986 VOL 99 NO 45



On the threshold of a war

New U.S. military funding and an influx of arms to Nicaraguan rebels raised fears that the socialist Latin American country might become another Vietnam. *—Page 22*



Round-the-clock trading

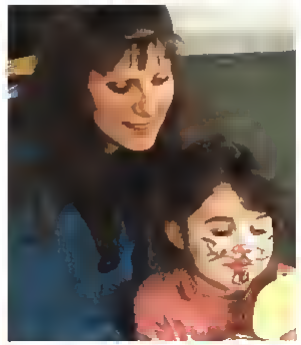
The volume of worldwide computerized stock trading is exploding, leaving the regulators scrambling to catch up with the newest investment revolution. *—Page 32*

COVER

Parents, jobs and children

More women than ever are working outside the home, and the number of children who need day care outnumbers the spaces available by more than 10 to 1. But day care is costly, and desperate parents are hoping that a parliamentary committee reporting this month will recommend more than token assistance to a severely strained system. *—Page 46*

COVER PHOTO BY [illegible]



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Return to the energy wars

Alberta reached an agreement with the federal government on deregulating natural gas sales last week, but only after bitter backroom battles over energy policy. *—Page 14*



A day late for Miss Canada

Canadians had to wait a day for the TV broadcast of the Miss Canada pageant, won by Tina May Simpson. The show was pre-empted by the World Series. *—Page 60*



Frustrated parents

Several *Maclean's* staff members are parents who have experienced the frustrations involved in ensuring that their children have proper day care or reliable nannies. Departments Editor Malcolm Gray, who supervised this week's cover package, was particularly well-suited by personal experience to the task. He and his wife, Carol, a lawyer, have a 4½-year-old son, Ian, who has been under the care of nannies since he was six months old. Said Gray: "He is on his fourth nanny. Three—including the current one—worked out well, but one



BRIAN WILLER/MACLEAN'S

Barber and McDowall: unfortunately, the children have no votes

was a disaster, and we asked her to leave after three months. It's a constant worry, wondering how long each one is going to stay."

Such concerns are shared by most day care and nanny agency operators—and the nannies themselves. When Assistant Photo Editor Maxine McDowall was organizing picture assignments, she found the subjects unusually co-operative. "They believe that it is important to take care of the next generation," said Maxine, "and they were pleased that someone was paying attention to what they do." But a chronic lack of proper day care facilities remains, and governments have been slow to provide support. Said Senior Writer John Barber, who wrote the main cover story: "It is the children who suffer. Unfortunately, they have no votes."

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's November 10, 1986

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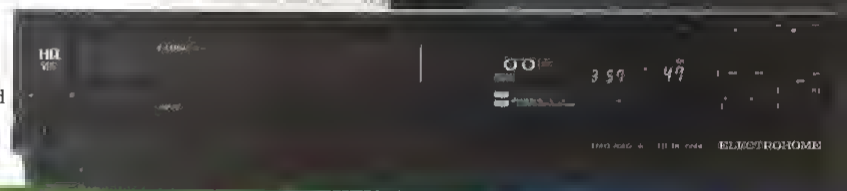
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LETTERS

Political manoeuvres

In the article "A drawing of knives" (Canada, Oct 20), *Maclean's* reports a "circle of Liberals close to Senator Keith Davey considering a campaign to replace [Liberal Leader John] Turner with former prime minister Trudeau." As far as I am concerned, the talk of Trudeau returning to lead the federal Liberals is a carefully calculated political ploy to win over delegates in Quebec. By using Trudeau, this small group of Liberal bandits hopes to reduce Turner's support at this month's convention in order to embarrass him into resigning. The mention of Trudeau as a possible successor helps them achieve their ultimate goal: an open leadership convention at which they would back candidates other than Trudeau.

—ROBERT ARPIN,
Sillery, Que.

Presuming guilt in child abuse

As usual in Canada, when people are accused of crimes, the onus is on the Crown to prove their guilt. Innocent parents accused of child abuse often discover that no amount of evidence in their favor will convince family service authorities of that innocence ("Help for abused parents," Follow-up, Oct. 6). David Burke is lucky it took him only 2½ weeks to have his daughter returned to him. Some parents in the same situation endure months of separation from their children, unable to convince anyone of their innocence, threatened with permanent loss of their children if they do not "co-operate" and victimized by an all-powerful bureaucratic agency to whom even family court judges defer.



John Turner: campaign for a replacement

Such agencies have somehow acquired a sort of bureaucratic immunity and no longer seem to answer to the people whom they are supposed to serve.

—P. K. WHIDDEN,
Middle Musquodoboit, N.S.

I am a child-abuse investigator in the United States, so I read your recent article "Help for abused parents" with considerable interest. I was surprised to learn that in Canada "parents are presumed guilty during the investigation." The presumption of guilt is not only unfair, but places the investigator at a tactical disadvantage in learning the facts, and probably encourages too heavy a reliance on police intervention. I believe a neutral stance, which initially implies neither guilt nor innocence, encourages greater cooperation from the subjects of the report, their friends, relatives and neighbors, who typically know the most about what is going on.

—THOMAS DRAKE,
Riverdale, Ill.

Telling on himself

Paul Roberts's review of *Telling Tales*, by John Fraser (Books, Oct. 27), says that Fraser writes kindly of me because I was his "early supporter," one of those who "helped the young Fraser on his literary way." I plead not guilty. So far as I can recall, I had nothing to do with Fraser's early career. He wrote for *Saturday Night* a couple of times in the mid-1970s, but that was a good while after he had become extremely well established at *The Globe and Mail*. But if Roberts has it all wrong, he's right to accuse Fraser of "the shameless taking of sides." Fraser does take sides, a disgracefully un-Canadian act. He should be severely rebuked and forced to desist.

—ROBERT FULFORD,
Editor, Saturday Night,
Toronto

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PASSAGES

MARRIED. Perky pop-music star **Marie Osmond**, 27, who last year divorced her first husband, former college basketball star **Stephen Craig**, and record producer **Brian Blosil**, 33, in a private Mormon ceremony in West Jordan, Utah.

DIED. Widely praised Canadian architect **Ronald Thom**, 63, of an apparent heart attack in his Toronto office. His designs, which included Ontario's Trent University and Shaw Festival Theatre, were influenced by the landscape and forests of his native British Columbia.

DIED. British novelist and playwright **John Braine**, 64, one of a group of writers whom critics in the 1950s nicknamed "the angry young men" because of their bitter attacks on the British class system, after suffering a ruptured stomach ulcer, in London. Braine's first and best-known book was *Room at the Top* (1957).

DIED. Veteran character actor **Forrest Tucker**, 67, best-known for his role as Sgt. Morgan O'Rourke in the 1965-1967 TV series *F Troop*, of cancer, in Woodland Hills, Calif.

DIED. Journalist **Richard Daignault**, 65, Montreal-based columnist for the Quebec City daily *Le Soleil* and former bureau chief for The Canadian Press agency; after a heart attack, in Montreal.

APPOINTED. TV executive **Howard Stringer**, 45, as president of CBS News, in New York City. Stringer, executive vice-president of the network's news division since January, 1984, had been running the department since **Van Gordon Sauter**'s forced resignation last month.

DIED. American runner **Jackson Scholz**, 89, whose defeat in the 1924 Olympic Games was chronicled in the 1982 movie *Chariots of Fire*, in Miami, Fla. Scholz, once the fastest man in the world, lost the gold medal for the 100-m event to British runner **Harold Abrahams**.

DIED. Republican backroom veteran **Sherman Adams**, 87, whose 1952-1958 career as President **Dwight Eisenhower**'s chief adviser ended abruptly in scandal because he had accepted expensive gifts, of respiratory arrest and renal failure, in Hanover, N.H.

SENTENCED. Former Yukon Liberal leader **Roger Coles**, 28, who last week resigned his seat in the legislature, to three years in prison after he pleaded guilty to trafficking in cocaine, in a Whitehorse territorial court. On May 8, Coles closed a drug deal in a Whitehorse hotel with an RCMP undercover policeman.

"Hallo? Bedankt voor het bellen."



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Sexual equality in polls

I am puzzled when I hear rhetoric from such so-called feminists as Louise Dulude president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, advocating different treatment for women and men (Letters, Oct 6). I thought the feminist movement wanted equality for both men and women in all facets of society, but Dulude advocates different treatment for women when considering the results of polls. A vote by a woman is of equal value to a man's vote. If women have different political preferences than men, those differences will be reflected in the polls' results. It may be true that people of Chinese origin have different political preferences than those of Italian origin, but you do not see polls differentiating between the two. In this way, the views of both men and women should be taken on the aggregate, and their views should not be systematically differentiated as Louise Dulude suggests.

—PAUL SANTOS,
Toronto

How typical that Louise Dulude should berate your report on the nation's political mood for omitting to mention the differences in political preferences of men and women. There is no "women's vote" in Canada, just as there is no "man's vote." In continuing to propagate that divisive doctrine, the NAC only underlines the fact that it is not representative of the majority of Canadian women.

—LYNN FORTIN
Cornwall Chapter,
REAL Women,
St. Andrews, Ont.

Trading resources for power

I wonder when we are going to realize that our power-hungry politicians should not have the right to deal away the national resources of this magnificent country as a means of getting themselves re-elected ("Hydro's power play," Business/Economy, Oct. 6). They seem to be eager, through their shortsightedness, to sell irreplaceable resources and to wreak permanent harm on the environment. They do not know or do not care that the results of their venality will scar our country long after they have gained a well-earned obscurity.

—DUNCAN STEWART
Goodlands, Man.

An emotional appeal

The dramatic circumstances under which Gabriel Bruce received his new liver were quite enthralling ("Race against the clock," Health, Oct. 6). Why is it that asking the public for a donor was considered an "unusual step"? Why was the doctor in charge so leery of informing the public of the situation that he waited until Gabriel was near death to make an appeal? The question of organ donation is undoubtedly an emotional one. People simply cannot bring themselves to donate the organs of their loved ones. If information regarding organ donation were more readily available, perhaps some of the fear attached to it would disappear.

—JANET HOGGEMA,
Victoria

A royal obsession

I am grateful for the candor of Ann Finlayson's review of Charles Templeton's *The Queen's Secret* ("Crowning insults," Books, Oct. 6), but she is blowing into the wind. Royalty-crazed monarchists will rush to this royal rubbish for its titillating fantasy in the same way that they can hardly get enough postage stamps adorned by royal mugs and printed to pander to their obsession.

—STANLEY R. REDMAN,
Midland, Ont.

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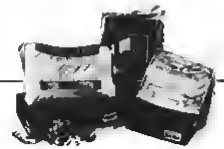
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DATELINE: COEUR D'ALENE

Shadow over paradise

The warm autumn sunlight dissolves the fog along the shoreline of Hayden Lake. The mist clears to reveal Coeur d'Alene's newly opened $83 4-million 18-storey hotel tower enclosed by one of the world's longest floating wooden boardwalks and a bright armada of pleasure boats. On nearby Sherman Street, strewn with leaves and reminiscent of a Norman Rockwell painting, Stephen Meyer unlocks the doors of The Bookseller, whose well-stocked shelves reflect the sophisticated side of the lakeside tourist haven in northern Idaho. "Idaho is what America was" reads a belt buckle in a store window. It is perhaps a nostalgic cliché, but the feeling is deep-rooted. And it explains why, after a series of bombings sent a wave of terror through this cozy community two months ago, many citizens concluded that the devil himself had at last arrived in paradise—in the form of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, Aryan Nations.

The wide-open spaces of Idaho are home to a full range of denominations—there are 32 different churches serving the Coeur d'Alene community of 25,000 alone—but none is as extreme as the Rev. Richard Butler's Aryan Nations. The church's main tenet, the goal of an all-white society, is taught through a mixture of biblical scripture, ancient Teutonic myth and Adolf Hitler's personal declaration of his beliefs, *Mein Kampf*. It is a mixed brew, strangely out of place in this tranquil town 200 km south of the British Columbia border where tourists can still sit down to a bowl of fresh country gravy with homemade buttermilk biscuits for under two dollars, and where young couples can be married in the Hitching Post Lakeside Chapel for $62. But according to Butler's plans, once he and his 35-member local congregation are liberated from the racial equality laws of the Zionist Occupied Government, or ZOG, as they call the United States, they will make Idaho the home of an independent Aryan Nation, to be called the North West Mountain Republic.

Butler's vision also calls for his nation to extend to the surrounding mountain states of Montana, Washington and Oregon—and possibly even into parts of British Columbia and Alberta. But the renegade preacher and the members of his small but zealous sect may have a long struggle ahead to achieve their promised land. The reaction of Coeur d'Alene's citizens—still rooted in the freedom of the Frontier West—to Butler's white supremacist philosophy has been increasingly outspoken in the wake of three bomb blasts that rocked the city in late September. Those explosions damaged the federal building—housing the local offices of the Internal Revenue Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and two federal senators' constituency offices—two shops, and the home of Rev. William Waasmuth, a local Roman Catholic priest. Many townspeople blame Butler for the attacks and claim that the bombings were his response to local hostility toward his teachings. "People here are safer than in most places," said Larry Broadbent, undersheriff for Kootenai County. "It will be terribly hard for this community to ever think positively about the Aryan Nations."



Butler: Inspired by the Bible and Adolf Hitler

Sixteen kilometres north of town, at the Aryan Nations' 20-acre headquarters perched on a rural hilltop, Butler denies charges that his group has been responsible for the violence. Still, the Order, an organization formed by

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members of the Aryan Nations, has declared a holy war against the United States and has been implicated in murders, bank robberies, counterfeiting and arson. And in connection with the Coeur d'Alene bombings, charges have been laid against three men, all affiliated to the Aryan Nations. But the 66-year-old Butler claimed, "The bombings were designed only to discredit the Aryan Nation movement." The leathery-skinned retired aeronautical engineer added, "Someone had the thesis that we were violent because we were pro-white, to prove the thesis, they had to provide the violence."

Butler is courteous but matter-of-fact as he displays a Nazi battle flag, a picture of Hitler and a large Nazi party banner bearing a black swastika against a red background. They hang in the Aryan meeting hall along with the flags of other nations, including Canada's old flag, the Red Ensign, and the B.C. provincial flag. In the adjacent church, Butler preaches on Sundays to his small congregation. Behind the altar is a large stained-glass version of "America," the heraldic symbol of the Aryan Nations—composed of depictions of the crown of God, the shield of Christian faith, a two-edged sword and the Nazi-style cross of Jacob in red, white and blue. "A country without God doesn't have a prayer," said Butler, who wears a shoulder patch of the symbol on his blue blazer. "And nowhere does it say all peoples will be called into the Kingdom of Heaven."

Past the barbed wire fence of Butler's compound, a former dairy farm, a german shepherd dog plays with children under the tall pines that surround the rundown cluster of farmhouse, church, offices, meeting hall and visitors' bunkhouses. There is also a single guard tower, bearing a sign: "Whites only. Welcome Aryan Warriors." The tower is more suggestive than sinister and, says Butler, doubles as a woodshed. But it is used for its real purpose during the annual Aryan Nations congress with its 400-strong attendance from across North America, when sect members man the tower to guard against any potential security problems.

A crowded trailer adjacent to the church contains pamphlets, newsletters and books—part of Butler's inventory of about 200 publications. He proselytizes by mailing out thousands of titles once a month. Popular titles include *Did Six Million Really Die?* by Richard Harwood, which claims that the Holocaust was a hoax, Butler's own *The Aryan Warrior* and an obscure 40-year-old pamphlet called *The Hitler We Loved and Why*. "Few people comprehend what we are trying to get across," Butler told *Maclean's*. He added, "People have flooded into this region because of a genetic instinct to live, raise children and share culture with their own kind. They leave their cities that have been swamped by ghettos and barrios and now new Asian groups. This North West Mountain Republic is an idea. We occupy this land."

Certainly the demographics of Idaho, where whites make up almost 95 per cent of the population in comparison to the U.S. national average of 83.1 per cent, seem ideal for Butler's purposes. Because the freedoms enshrined in the U.S. Constitution protect the rights of Butler and his associates, state authorities have been reluctant to take action against the sect. But Coeur d'Alene residents say that they are determined not to see their day-to-day harmony disturbed by the racism and violence attributed to the Aryan Nations. Waasmuth, for one, alleges that Butler's followers have been harassing minority children adopted by white families. The priest, whose home sustained $3,000 in damages in the September bombings, formed the 175-member Kootenai County Task Force on Human Rights in response. According to Waasmuth, the Coeur d'Alene community "wishes the Aryans weren't around." He added, "People have a right to live where they want to live and say what they want to say, but not to promote violence."

In the wake of the September bombings, Idaho Gov. John Evans offered to send National Guard patrols to Coeur d'Alene in the event of further violence. But those who actively oppose the Aryan Nations claim that more government action is necessary to prevent the further spread of Butler's network. In Carolina, Alta., timber mill operator Terry Long is already in the process of establishing a small congregation of 60 members, not all of them from Carolina. Indeed, Broedbent is preparing a seminar for a five-state conference on how to handle white-supremacy groups. And for year-round residents of Coeur d'Alene, the presence of Butler's small congregation is a continuing source of concern. "I can't believe this is happening here," said Milton Smith, a black student at the town's North Idaho College. "People don't know how scared I was when the bombings occurred."

For his part, Duane Hagadone, owner of the booming new lakeside resort, claims that tourists will not give up some of the best freshwater fishing in the West because of the Aryan Nations presence. During the summer tourist season, he says, his luxury hotel was full. Local realtor Jeannie Scott says that Butler's sect has had little influence. But because of the recent violence, she added, "property values have depreciated." Until the issue of Butler and his Aryan community is resolved, real estate prices may be the least of the problems threatening this idyllic haven in backcountry, U.S.A.

—JOHN HOWSE in Coeur d'Alene



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Waasmuth's damaged house: after the bombings, outspoken reaction against the sect

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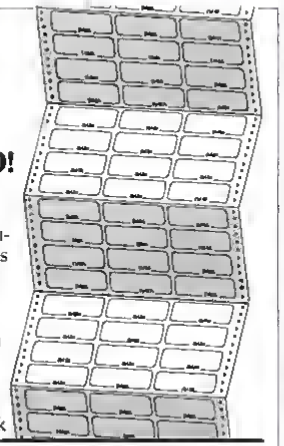


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FOLLOW-UP

Nigeria's new hopes

In 26 years of independence from Britain, Nigeria has experienced six military coups, two failed constitutions and a collapsed oil boom. Now, after years of corrupt and extravagant governments—during which much of Nigeria's newfound oil wealth was spent by officials on expensive cars or placed in foreign bank accounts—the country is nearly bankrupt and badly in need of economic and political reform. But Nigerians celebrated their independence last month with some optimism. The reason: a new government has launched an unusual public debate on the future of the culturally diverse and politically unruly country of 100 million.

The president, Maj.-Gen. Ibrahim Babangida, who seized power in an August, 1985, military coup, initiated the discussion on Nigeria's future earlier this year. In a series of newspaper advertisements and public meetings, he asked Nigerians to submit their views on how the country could best revitalize its foundering economy in the face of a drop in oil revenues of as much as 75 per cent. The sale of crude oil provides more than 90 per cent of the country's export earnings. And in anticipation of a promised return to civilian rule in 1990, he also asked what form of government could succeed in Nigeria. According to officials, thousands of submissions poured in, calling for everything from a one-party state to a government ruled by women.

Babangida has shuffled state governors and reorganized his ruling council in an effort, he says, to ensure an orderly transition in 1990. He also announced last month, partly as a result of views expressed in the submissions already analysed, that the country—with its $21-billion foreign debt—will not go further into debt. But as the debate continues over what kind of political system should evolve in the African nation, many Nigerians are clearly more interested in addressing the country's economic problems. Said Oladapo Fafowa, spokesman for Nigeria's manufacturers: "Getting the economy out of its present mess is the only real priority."

—LYSE DOUCET in Lagos



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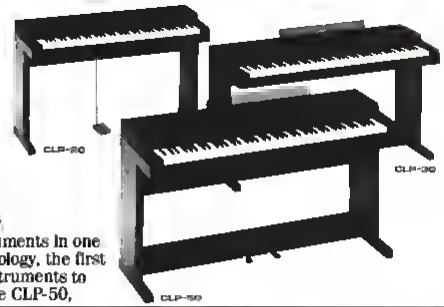
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Rebirth after a killer earthquake

On a narrow side street in the working-class Mexico City neighborhood of Guerrero, people had blocked off two intersections. In the middle of the street, strips of *carne asada* (roast beef) sat smoking on a barbecue grill, and a blaring cassette player provided music for a rollicking street dance. The impromptu party had been called to inaugurate a special newly built apartment house for some of the 50,000 people left homeless after the Sept. 19, 1985, killer earthquake. Barely a year after the tremor that took as many as 10,000 lives and levelled hundreds of the city's buildings, reconstruction efforts are mostly on schedule. And the mammoth piles of concrete and rubble that sat on the city's streets and sidewalks in the immediate aftermath of the quake have been cleared.

The fast pace of reconstruction is all the more remarkable in a nation saddled with a government notorious for its gross inefficiency and pervasive corruption. But many Mexicans are quick—and proud—to point out that much of the rebuilding has been the result of the efforts of private citizens and not of the government of President Miguel de la Madrid. Since they began banding together in the days immediately following the earthquake, the citizens' groups claim to have directed millions of dollars in international relief into construction of adequate shelter for the homeless. The sudden rise in public pressure groups is a departure from the Mexican tradition of relying on paternalistic national presidents. Declared 27-year-old Manuel Muñoz, an organizer for the 10-year-old grassroots Guerrero Neighborhood Union (UVCG), which built the apartment house: "Everything we have was wrested from the government with battles of blood and tears. With demonstrations, rent strikes and organizing campaigns, plus the pressure of international public opinion, the government has been forced to provide for us."

Official statistics are often unreliable, but even critics of the government say that as many as 6,000 have moved into newly built apartments and condominiums. The makeshift plastic tents that stood on most street corners and available public space at the beginning of the year have been replaced by more comfortable clusters of *campamentos*—corrugated aluminum barracks that serve as jerry-built way stations between homelessness and permanent housing. As many as 8,000 families are huddled into those temporary structures. But even by the most pessimistic predictions, they will likely have new homes by the middle of next year.



Rebuilding in Mexico City, de la Madrid (below): a new sense of resolve

The country's new activists can be found in neighborhood-based opposition parties and community groups and in independent labor and student federations. The Guerrero neighborhood, one of the hardest hit by the quake, is also one of the most active. There are approximately 30 relief campamentos alone in the 300-square-block area. Twenty-five-year-old government clerk Alberto Dogart, a Guerrero resident, still remembers with bitterness the inefficiency of authorities on the day of the quake. As he worked frenziedly with a rescue brigade organized by the UVCG to unearth neighbors in a collapsed building, he said that "the police personnel who were supposedly sent to co-ordinate the rescue attempts showed up." But, he added, "all they did was make us lose valuable time, because they were unorganized, indecisive and, most of all, uncaring and insensitive." The apartment house recently inaugurated in Guerrero was built by the UVCG with a loan—not from the Mexican government but from the U.S. branch of Catholic Relief Services.



The spirit of individual initiative has spread beyond earthquake relief efforts. Eight kilometres to the south of the Guerrero neighborhood sits an entire street of warehouse skeletons that used to house the city's textile industry. When the earthquake hit, as many as 800 sewing factories turned into rubble. More than 100 women workers perished, and the

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vain efforts to rescue them put into focus the primitive working conditions in which they had labored. Said Mexican author and historian Gaston García Cantu: "The seamstresses had been working in 19th-century conditions, comparable to English mill workers at the time of the Industrial Revolution." The resulting national scandal gave birth to the militant Seamstresses Union. For years the 25 existing government-affiliated textile unions had shunned the seamstresses. The new union, founded to aid the homeless sewing-machine operators, was sparked on the day of the earthquake and now numbers 3,000 members.

At the same time, the earthquake underlined the increasingly desperate condition of Mexico's poor. Declared National University political scientist Paco Taibo II of the catastrophe: "The earthquake was devastating to those directly affected by it. But in the long run it was just one more minor jolt in what has been an ongoing slide into disaster for so many poor people in this country." An estimated four million of Mexico City's 18 million residents live in conditions equal to or worse than the uninsulated temporary shelters that now house the earthquake victims. "That is why these tin shacks in the campamentos will never be torn down," said community organizer Muñoz. "There will always be people ready to see them as an improvement in their lives. And they will be moving in and squatting as soon as the people in them now are moved to their new homes." Community activists admit that the campamentos already give refuge to many families who were homeless before the quake.

Even the residents who can afford to move into rebuilt accommodations face difficult problems. The government-fixed rent payment of $44 a month for one of the new apartments is 10 times what Mexico City's poorest quake victims were paying before the disaster. At the same time, figures from the Bank of Mexico show an overall rise in the cost of living of 870 per cent in the past four years, with salaries rising at barely half that rate.

But as the locals danced in the Guerrero neighborhood, it was clear that Mexicans had found a new sense of resolve and social activism because of the earthquake. Paco Taibo, who along with other academics and political activists has produced a series of pamphlets critical of the de la Madrid administration, said: "In a country like this, where the state tries to be everywhere at one time, it is outright subversive when people take matters into their own hands. And it is exciting, too."

—MARC COOPER in Mexico City



New Faces Of The Cadian Establishment



Photographed by Bert Bell at the Recently Renovated Holiday Inn Montreal Pointe Claire

Roger Lavoie and Laurent Moquin Jr., Founders, Zytco Solariums Ltée., at the Holiday Inn Montreal Pointe Claire.

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DATELINE: SYDNEY

Karate's personal best

In early October, 431 competitors from 37 nations converged on Sydney, Australia, for the Eighth World Karate Championships. Leading the 19-member Canadian contingent was team captain and Canadian heavyweight champion Peter Giffen, a Maclean's *researcher-reporter. His report on the tournament:*

We touched down in Sydney and walked out into the golden warmth of an Australian spring. It was Sept. 26, a week early for the Eighth World Karate Championships, and the mood among the 19 members of Canada's National Karate Team—16 men and three women—was buoyant. Some of us had spent more than 15 years mastering the deadly kicks and hand strikes of the ancient Japanese martial art. During the year a few had given up jobs to devote themselves full time to training. Half of us had never competed in international competitions. But we were confident of our abilities. Even the cost of travelling such a great distance—up to $3,000 for 16,100 km which was only partially subsidized by Sport Canada—was forgotten. Sitting in his hotel room a day before the tournament, Robert Garnett, 30, a bottle-shop employee with the Labatt's New Brunswick Brewery in Saint John, talked fancifully about his home-town return. "I can see the headline," he said, smiling. " 'Local boy wins gold' "

Finally, on the morning of Oct. 4—the day of the five-man team matches—we made our way to Sydney's State Sports Centre. Wearing our red and gray Team Canada sweatsuits over our white karate uniforms bound with black belts, we joked about the competition facing us. "I can smell a medal," someone yelled from the back of our rented bus. But underlying the jocularity was a more serious sense of purpose. Denis Deziel, for one, a three-time Canadian champion from Shawinigan, Que., gave up his construction job last January to concentrate on training. He said that back home he intended to teach karate full-time, and a medal would give him credibility to attract students. "Winning would be like getting a degree from university," he said. "I would have proven myself."

That day we faced the three-time world champion British team. Canada is the dark horse, we told each other, ready to catch the international giants unaware. "We've got nothing to lose," said Vancouver printing-shop owner Philip Darbyshire. "We can go all the way." During warm-ups—stretching and doing light exercises—we watched the British team members as their coach led them through a gruelling punching and kicking drill. "They don't look so fast," said 27-year-old Toronto fighter Lincoln Wallace. "We can beat them."

But we did not. In front of an Australian audience—clearly torn between cheering for a fellow former colony or the land of their ancestors—the British came at us ferociously with high sweeping kicks and hard body punches, cutting lips and bruising ribs. We lost four matches out of five, and later watched from the stands as the British, many of them full-time athletes, won their fourth world team championship. "I've never been punched so hard," Wallace said, rocking back and forth with pain from a bruised rib. Then, he added, "But they weren't so fast."

Still, it quickly became clear that we were unprepared for the ferocity of international competition. Leo Savoie of Moncton, N.B., expressed concern about his individual matches. "When I see all this contact," he said, referring to the matches he had witnessed, "I cannot help thinking I am going to get hurt. I am not ready for this kind of fighting." Because of distance and a lack of funding, the Canadian team cannot take part in international matches on the same scale as many European and Asian countries. Said Canadian team coach Joseph Gilhes: "If we lived in Europe, we could compete against other countries on the weekends." For the tournament, Sport Canada provided $14,500—only enough to cover eight of the team's tickets. At the same time, the scramble to make extra money cut into training time. Garnett, for one, pulled a rickshaw over 51 km to raise $475 in pledges. "I will never do that again," he said. "I couldn't move my back for three days afterward."

In the two days that followed we enjoyed some successes. The team cheered on Manuel Monzon, a 29-year-old Montreal telecommunications co-ordinator, as he advanced to win a bronze medal in the 65- to 70-kg weight division—the first medal for Canada since John Carmo of Toronto won a silver in the first world championship in Tokyo in 1970. Garnett placed fifth in the 60- to 65-kg. Wallace and I tied for fifth place in the heavyweight division. But the price was high: bruises, and cut lips and eyes. Monzon and 26-year-old Wendy Fong, married to Deziel and a competitor in the women's middleweight class, both suffered cracked teeth when struck by overzealous opponents.

Then it was over, and the inevitable assessment of the sacrifices began. For some of us the mood was dark. Deziel, eliminated after two matches, said: "I quit work for this. I do not think it is worth it. It was a long way to go to get beat." Darbyshire, who lost all his matches, added, "I am just not up to this level." Others disagreed. "I do not care about medals," Monson said. "I need the stress of competition to put me into contact with something deep inside myself. If a lost tooth is the price, then I am willing to pay it." Added Fong, who also gave up her job as a translator to train for the tournament: "This was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. I can get a job at any time."

For Garnett, there was no question that competing in the tournament had been worthwhile. Placing fifth in his class—and losing to the eventual first-place winner from Japan—was a clear achievement. In his hotel room, nursing a damaged leg muscle and cuts on his lip and eyes, he imagined the greeting he would receive back home in New Brunswick. Then he smiled as he conjured up another imaginary headline: " 'Local boy does real good.' "





Skeleton in the corridor

At the age of four he could read Latin. By the time of his death in 1832 his daring ideas on social reform had ensured him a place among the great thinkers who would shape the 20th century. But British philosopher Jeremy Bentham sought a more specific kind of immortality: in his will he asked that his remains be preserved, dressed in his own clothes and put on public display. Now, 154 years after Bentham's death at the age of 84, his padded skeleton still sits in a glass-fronted case, cane in hand, in a corridor of University College in London, England. Said Stephen Conway, a historian at the college: "After you have been here a while, it just seems like part of the furniture."

Bentham himself intended his remains to fulfil a loftier purpose. The father of what became known as the utilitarian school of philosophy, Bentham rejected organized religion and wrote that each person should conduct his or her life in a way that would produce, in his famous phrase, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." To that end, Bentham himself determined to donate his body for anatomical study—a practice then widely opposed. But he decided to go a step further: his corpse would be made into what he called an "auto-icon," a preserved statue which would continue to play some part in life.

In accordance with his wishes, Bentham's body was dissected in the presence of his friends. The skeleton was then cleaned, fitted with a wax head and seated on display at University College, founded by Bentham's followers in 1826 as an alternative to the established universities. The college is careful to respect every detail of Bentham's will. His remains are still taken to important college functions, and last June they were present at the founding of the International Bentham Society, dedicated to promoting Bentham's life and work. Said Sir James Lighthill, provost of University College: "It is good for the general morale and spirit of the college to have Bentham here with us." But, he added, "I suppose we should be grateful that the idea of turning one's body into a status never caught on."

—ROSS LAVER in London



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Collapse of a high-flying gamble

Both the scheme, and the product, were supposed to shine On Oct 7, 1983, the Liberal federal government announced that it had convinced the world's premiere manufacturer of helicopters, Texas-based Bell Helicopter Textron Inc , to set up shop in Mirabel, Que The project was a $514-million gamble, with Ottawa to pay $165 million, Quebec $110 million and Bell the remainder But according to Edward Lumley, then the minister in charge of the department of industry, trade and commerce (ITC)—which two months later became the department of regional industrial expansion (DRIE)—the payoff was clear 3,800 high-paying jobs over 20 years—2,100 jobs at the plant and another 1,700 with Canadian parts suppliers Now, three years later, the plant employs only 375 people and probably will not employ more than 800 unless world markets drastically improve Plans to produce a light helicopter by 1985 have vanished in favor of transferring production of four older models from the U S parent company And the future is bleak for a sophisticated new design that carried with it the company's hopes for a leap into the front lines of aerospace technology

To some government officials in the 1970s and early 1980s, Canada appeared ripe to enter the helicopter business In 1981 the country had the world's second-largest commercial fleet of helicopters—close to 1,200 machines, compared to the United States' 9,500 With an oil boom fuelling the profits of oil companies—the largest civil users of helicopters—that market was expected to increase As a result, said Joe Harrison, former chief of the aerospace division of ITC, "the question was frequently asked 'Why aren't we in the helicopter industry?' "

Ottawa began to seriously address that question in 1981, after the release of a study by a minor ITC official That report, prepared by Edward Owen, now a defence programs project officer with DRIE, concluded that the Canadian helicopter industry—until then almost nonexistent—was on the verge of massive expansion Owen's conclusion contrasted with that of the Air Transport Association of Canada (ATAC), which represents Canadian aircraft operators—and which Owen had consulted "We told Owen the facts and put him in contact with the operators," said Gordon Lindsay, a former ATAC vice-president. "Everybody told him, 'There is no market—anybody who might buy the things is broke' " But the Owen report became the object of much interest Recalled Brian Smith, then acting director of ITC's aerospace directorate. "Because it attracted so much attention—including the minister's—the pressure was on us to take it a step further "

In the summer of 1981 Lumley visited the Fort Worth headquarters of Bell—whose helicopters make up two-thirds of the Canadian fleet—to gauge the U S giant's interest in establishing a plant in Canada He received a discouraging response But within months company chairman Jim Atkins's interest was engaged after he read of the Owen report in *Canadian Aviation* magazine Said Atkins. "Money was the main attraction "

At the same time, the government was building a case for a full-fledged assault on the helicopter market A federal government committee reported that most forecasters predicted steady world growth for the helicopter industry, a prognosis based largely on the belief in a continuing oil boom Bell was also optimistic. an influential 1981 study by the company—a factor in the Canadian committee's report—claimed that annual helicopter sales would double to 2,995 by 1990 And based on oil company reports, Bell also singled out light twin-engined helicopters as the wave of the future



Bell's 206 B JetRanger: entering the helicopter business in spite of a collapsed world market

Some ITC officials remained skeptical "We suspected that Bell, because they were the market leader, had influenced all the other surveys," said Smith Helicopter users also questioned the projections. At one 1982 meeting of ATAC's helicopter committee, two government officials sounded out the association about the potential scheme Said Lindsay. "Our members told them they were out of their minds." ATAC members also pointed out that even though a second engine provides an extra margin of safety, the costs were prohibitive One single-engined light helicopter, made by French manufacturer Aérospatiale, now sells for $675,000, a twin-engined version sells for $1 1 million

But the government had what appeared to be a clear vision By the late 1970s aircraft engine manufacturer

Pratt & Whitney Canada Inc. in Montreal had already approached Ottawa for money to develop a twin-turbine engine. Smith says it was a "happy coincidence" a chance to arrange for a light twin-engined helicopter to be built in Canada, and at the same time guarantee a market for Pratt's new engine. Added Lumley: "If Bell had not agreed to buy the Pratt engine, then we would not have given them the money." Lumley insists that none of the questions about the viability of light twins "ever crossed my desk." But some federal officials have said privately that key department people told Lumley only what he wanted to hear—and that he was more than willing to believe them. Said Smith: "He was hell-bent to make a name for himself."

Then, in 1982, the world helicopter market collapsed, largely because of an oil slump and general recession. But Ottawa's program had acquired its own momentum. In December, 1982, Lumley—clearly hoping that the market would again improve—formally asked eight manufacturers to submit proposals. By the following spring, three serious applicants had come forward—Bell, Aérospatiale and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm GmbH (MBB) of Germany—with modest plans based on existing models.

Ottawa accepted MBB's offer much as it was proposed. Since then, the company's plant in Fort Erie, Ont., which opened last July and produces a light twin-turbine helicopter, has met every production and hiring target and created jobs at a fraction of the price of the Bell plant. But government officials pressed Aérospatiale and Bell for grander proposals because of Lumley's insistence that the project give rise to thousands of jobs and a company able to design and build a new model using the Pratt engine. By September, 1983, Bell had edged out Aérospatiale. The company agreed to begin producing the Model 400—its standard twin-engined helicopter—in Canada in 1985, then substitute the new Pratt motor and create the Model 400A by 1988. And Bell was to design a new, sophisticated Model 440—with Ottawa and Quebec covering 60 per cent of development costs.

A month later, Ottawa proclaimed that Canada was in the helicopter-building business and at the same time announced that it would invest $100 million in Pratt & Whitney's new $252-million engine program. And in spite of a continuing decline in the market, the new Conservative government plowed ahead with the project after 1984. When Bell officials advised Ottawa in October, 1985, that market conditions simply did not warrant production of the Model 400, the two sides renegotiated their agreement. Bell scrapped plans to produce the Model 400, but agreed to begin producing the Model 400A with the Pratt engine in 1989. By 1988 Bell will also shift production of four older models to the Mirabel plant—which did not open until December, 1985. One model is already being turned out: the 206 B JetRanger. But although development will continue, Bell is now unwilling to commit itself to production of the 440, and some competitors express doubt that the machine will ever enter production.

Bell is also attempting to take advantage of its new status in Canada. Spokesmen have said that next year they will pursue an estimated $2-billion contract to replace the Canadian navy's 35 old antisubmarine helicopters. Ottawa is also expected to purchase up to 60 light helicopters for the army within the next decade. Some observers say that such contracts should go to Bell. Said Harrison: "What is the point of paying to establish an industry if the government does not insist that its child be the beneficiary of procurements?" Bell may be counting on similar arguments cropping up in Ottawa to bolster its order book—and to deflect criticism that its plant was a bad investment.

—MARC CLARK in Ottawa

CLOSE-UP: MARIO CUOMO

An enigmatic governor

The life-sized cardboard cutout of New York Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo was a constant companion of his Republican rival Andrew O'Rourke. On television ads, campaigning on Long Island commuter trains or even flying into Washington to drum up financial support, O'Rourke doggedly carted along the six-foot dummy as a symbol of Cuomo's persistent refusal—for most of the campaign—to accept his debating challenge. But, as with so many other events in the recent race for the governorship of New York State, Cuomo managed to turn the tactic to his advantage. Speaking to an audience of 700 fellow Italian Americans in New York in September, Cuomo injected a little levity into his normally sombre public image. "My aides told me they had good news and bad news," he said. "The bad news was that Andrew O'Rourke was out debating a cardboard dummy of me. The good news is that the dummy won."

Indeed, with a 70-per-cent approval rating as governor, a $10-million political war chest and a string of recent legislative successes to his credit, Cuomo could afford the luxury of not only shrugging off his rival, but also of declining to engage in any formal campaigning until the final days before the Nov. 4 ballot. Still, pundits warned that this luxury might prove costly to him in the long run. They pointed out that Cuomo's lofty detachment from the flesh pressing and pomposity of the last campaign could come back to haunt him if he decides to run for the presidency in 1988.

On the campaign trail, Cuomo seemed to dislike the kind of glad-handing that would be essential to a presidential race

Indeed, shortly before the Nov. 4 vote, Cuomo finally gave in to criticism and agreed to two last-minute debates with O'Rourke, one to be broadcast on public television only three days before the election. But by then his perceived arrogance had set a dangerous precedent. Even more serious, Cuomo's noncampaign failed to build up the sort of political machinery that any White House hopeful must command to be assured a fighting chance. Said one Democratic consultant: "If you look at this election as a dress rehearsal for 1988, Mario is in trouble."

The question of Cuomo's presidential aspirations was the main ingredient sustaining interest in a contest which otherwise had been the most uneventful of the races for 36 governorships in the U.S. midterm elections this week. Having failed to woo a candidate who would pose a serious threat to Cuomo—former secretary of state Henry Kissinger was one of those who declined—the Republican party appeared to have ignored O'Rourke. In fact, his campaign was notable mainly for its inability to capitalize on a single issue.

Cuomo also stood to gain from his record in Albany, the state capital. In his four years in office the state's $1.8-billion deficit had been transformed into a $600-million surplus. In the process, Cuomo had also renovated dilapidated highways, streamlined medical-care payments for the poor and el-

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derly, and established himself as a fiscal conservative by presiding over the biggest tax cut in the state's history.

But the main criticism of his last term could count against him in a presidential race. Opponents claim that Cuomo is a mediocre administrator who cannot delegate responsibility and who trusts only one political aide—his son Andrew, 28, a brilliant, handsome lawyer who doubles as his father's campaign manager and chief operative. Some observers compare their closeness to that of former president John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert. But Charles Peters, editor of the neoliberal *Washington Monthly*, says that Kennedy had close contacts across the country. Said Peters, "As far as I can see, Cuomo only trusts his son and that is just fatal if you want to be an effective president. It is Jimmy Carter all over again."

Still, Cuomo remains one of the Democrats' chief hopes in 1988—and their best-financed prospect. The party's current front-runner, retiring Colorado Senator Gary Hart, is still paying off his $3 million in debts from the 1984 presidential primaries, which he eventually lost to Walter Mondale. Many observers also see Cuomo's vision of the nation as a family—set forth in his electrifying address to the 1984 Democratic convention that catapulted him to national prominence—as the logical expression of the party's endangered liberal traditions.



Cuomo, a question of aspirations

While many observers accuse Cuomo of coyness because he has not yet announced his intentions for 1988, those who work closely with him say that he remains genuinely perplexed about which course to take. As his diaries, published in 1984, show, he is ruthlessly honest with himself—and aware of his shortcomings. Last January Cuomo lashed out publicly at one of his chief obstacles to the presidency. He attacked "ethnic slurs" from Democratic officials who said that, as an Italian, he could never win the support of Southern or Western voters. One 1984 Democratic candidate, Jesse Jackson, hailed him for squaring off against the question publicly, but some critics saw it as yet another example of Cuomo's mercurial temper and thin skin. Indeed, his sensitivity to a slight has left Cuomo—rated by Democratic media consultant Robert Squier as the most charismatic TV presence of all the 1988 presidential hopefuls—with a testy relationship with the press.

As well, in an age when abortion has become an explosive litmus-test issue for many voters, Cuomo's deep-rooted Catholicism may prove to be a stumbling block. Although personally opposing abortion, he has argued that he would never force his views on others. That position has embroiled Cuomo in a debate with New York's John Cardinal O'Connor. In September, 1985, Cuomo launched a protracted debate with the church over Roman Catholic politicians' right to dissent from the church's teachings.

Despite leading a successful fight for states' tax rights against the Reagan administration's tax reform bill, Cuomo also remains significantly untested on the national political stage. And although the governor privately studies foreign policy issues, he has travelled outside of the United States only twice in his lifetime—once on his honeymoon and once on a five-day visit to Rome.

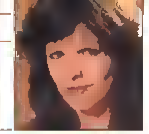
But it is Cuomo's own enigmatic character which may ultimately keep him from making the leap from the Albany statehouse to the White House, as Theodore and Franklin Delano Roosevelt did before him. Despite his riveting performances on the campaign trail, Cuomo appears to dislike the kind of glad-handing that would be essential to a presidential race. As he reflected in his diary three years ago: "Has anything ever been so useless as the momentary acclaim of a world that does not know you, no matter how public?"

—MARCI McDONALD in Albany



COLUMN

Through rose-colored glasses



By Barbara Amiel

Last month President Samore Machel of Mozambique died in a plane crash. As I watched the coverage of his death I naturally thought of the time I was arrested in Mozambique six years ago. The border guards mistakenly waved my car through after examining my passport and then jailed me for 10 days when I tried to leave, because I didn't have the correct visas. When I returned to Canada the media castigated me for casting aspersions on Mozambique. There was no significance given to the fact that I had been held incommunicado in appalling jail conditions, without benefit of counsel or diplomatic representation, for a "crime" that was at best the fault of Mozambique's own administrative incompetence.

At the time, I was dumbfounded. Why were those who interviewed me, including the CBC's Joe Coté, so anxious to overlook such a repressive regime as that in Mozambique? Millions of blacks were suffering under the tyranny of Machel, unable to travel internally without their identity cards, the Mozambican equivalent of the South African passbooks. The citizens of Mozambique do not have freedom of association or a free press. They have no protection from arbitrary arrest and detention. Human rights organizations document the regime's torture and executions and its re-education camps. But nobody mentioned this in their eagerness to redeem Mozambique from my criticism.

Not surprisingly, I felt a sense of déjà vu watching the reporting of Machel's death. Once again there was total silence about the darker side of his regime. Yet the situation is even more desperate now in Mozambique than six years ago. Food shortages are more acute, the famine more menacing, and the Mozambican resistance movement Renamo is on the verge of defeating Machel's forces. Still, the media continues to stonewall.

It is true that many Mozambicans mourned the death of Machel, but then he may well have been a man of considerable personal charm and charisma. Many tyrants, not to mention many ordinary confidence men, have a charming manner: it is their stock-in-trade. For years the Mozambicans have been told that South Africa is the cause of all their sufferings, and now it appears there is no attempt to disabuse them of the idea that Machel was assassinated by South Africa. National pride can be a powerful force.

The Globe and Mail produced the most astonishing coverage of Machel's death—and I make this criticism not in my role as the partisan associate editor of *The Toronto Sun* but as a Canadian worried about the lack of information given to our citizens. In the three *Globe* articles on the day Machel's death was announced, there was not a single detail of the repression in Mozambique. There was a rueful mention in the editorial of some "botched economic development," as if the brutal forced collectivization of Mozambique's agriculture was like an Ontario egg-marketing plan gone wrong. A reader dutifully going through the *Globe*'s prose on Mozambique could be forgiven for finishing it all without having the slightest inkling that Mozambique was a land of political prisoners, no freedoms and no due process of law. Indeed, the *Globe* spoke of Machel as the "elected" president of Mozambique.

> ***A reader could be forgiven for not having the slightest inkling that Mozambique was a land of no freedoms***

Nor is there much information in the Canadian press on Renamo. The received wisdom of the day is that Renamo is of utterly no credibility, since it is backed by the South African government and is alleged to have committed human rights abuses. But in the past we have had no difficulty in supporting the aims of some movements even though they are backed by dubious regimes. The fact is that Mozambique is a Soviet-backed Communist dictatorship and, unless we have reached the stage where we think that that is the best way to arrange human affairs, we can only be baffled at the antagonism shown to Renamo and the eulogies given to Machel. Left-wing commentators never tire of pointing out that there must have been legitimate grievances that allowed Castro's rebels or the Sandinistas to secure themselves among the peasants. Similarly, there must be legitimate grievances that have allowed Renamo to acquire control of the greater part of Mozambique in spite of the fact that it is facing a well-supported and highly trained army.

Despite a campaign to depict the rebels as no more than bandits lacking any aim or infrastructure, there is considerable evidence to the contrary. In a September, 1985, interview in the *U.S. Journal of Defense and Diplomacy*, Renamo's secretary-general, Evo Fernandes, succinctly pointed out that the fight to de-colonialize Africa was nearly over, but the fight for individual freedom was yet to come. If Renamo wins, it would be the first internal defeat of a Communist regime in Africa. Surely that is in the interests of the West and a cause to support—not condemn.

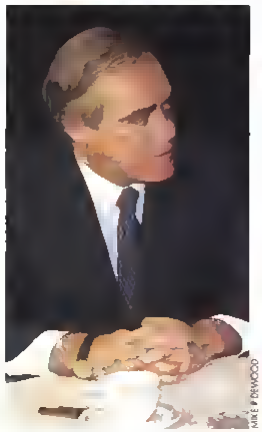
The lopsided coverage of the Mozambican situation brought to mind the recent nasty incident with U.S. state department spokesman Bernard Kalb, who discovered he was being asked to give out disinformation about Libya. Quite rightly, in my opinion, Kalb resigned when he found out that he was in effect lying to the press at the administration's behest. But I suppose one could say that the United States at least had the excuse of reasons of state for its disinformation campaign. What is the excuse of such an independent newspaper as the *Globe* for creating such a lopsided view of Mozambique? One cannot blame the misinformation of a free press on a scheming government.

It seems evident that newspapers such as the *Globe* measure dictatorships of the left and right by two entirely different standards. The reasons—torture, political prisons and coercive measures—they hold up for condemning the right-wing regimes of the Shah of Iran, Pinochet of Chile or Ferdinand Marcos are rarely used against left-wing regimes in Central America or Africa.

The conclusion to all this must be that the *Globe* and similar media outlets are not against dictatorships as such. When they eulogize the late Samora Machel by failing to make any reference to the fact that his was a regime as much contrary to the basic tenets of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights as all the fascists of the world, then they are condoning and praising dictators as long as they are left-wing. It is a rotten state of affairs for a free and independent press.

Ottawa strikes a deal

The back-to-back announcements should have been cause for mutual congratulation. On Wednesday Alberta Energy Minister Neil Webber unveiled a long-awaited $1-billion aid package for the province's hard-pressed oil and gas industry. The next day federal Energy Minister Marcel Masse announced in Calgary that the two Conservative governments had met a Nov. 1 deadline for agreement on a year-old proposal to deregulate natural gas sales. One possible effect: a decline in gas prices in Eastern Canada. But last week's good news was tempered by evidence of bitter backroom battles between Ottawa and Edmonton over the nation's energy policy. Indeed, the atmosphere in recent weeks has been so heated that it reminded some observers of the feuding between the Alberta Tories and the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau. Observed one veteran oil industry lobbyist in Ottawa: "Just because you wear the same political colors doesn't mean you'll get along on oil and gas policy in this country."



MIKE P DEWOOD

The volatile relations between the two governments on energy matters contrasted sharply with the cozy situation of 19 months ago, when then-energy minister Pat Carney proudly unveiled the Western Accord. That abolished most of the controversial oil-pricing and taxation provisions of the former Liberal government's National Energy Program and proposed development of a market-sensitive pricing formula for natural gas. But last spring's collapse of world petroleum prices soured the accord, sparking demands from Alberta for a better deal. Webber made repeated requests for more federal assistance to the industry. And he balked at accepting important provisions in the transitional agreement struck a year ago between Ottawa and Edmonton on natural gas pricing.

Masse agreed last September to eliminate the Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax (PGRT), 28 months ahead of the schedule outlined in the Western Accord. But he subsequently refused Webber's demand for a costly stabilization fund for small oil producers and resisted Alberta's conditions for a substantially revised gas deregulation agreement. Insiders said that a fundamental difference of opinion has developed about how much help each government can afford to give to the beleaguered industry. The situation is politically complicated because measures that help the oil industry tend to penalize energy consumers in Eastern Canada.

The generous package announced by Webber for Alberta's energy industry last week included deep cuts in provincial royalties on petroleum production. Oil and gas discovered before 1974 will get a four-per-cent royalty break, and so-called "new oil," discovered after 1974, will earn a 12-per-cent reduction. The package also provided a five-year royalty holiday for wells started over the next 12 months and an enriched royalty tax-credit program. However, Webber insisted that Ottawa should provide still further aid. "We're looking for the federal government to do much more," he said. Canada, he added, had been insulated from $50 to $60 billion worth when prices were high.

But further federal aid appeared unlikely. Masse's September announcement of an early end to the PGRT will cost Ottawa approximately $1 billion in forgone tax revenues, and insiders said that Masse waged a tough fight in cabinet to get the costly measure approved. Said a senior federal energy department official: "They have no sales tax, no gasoline tax and low income taxes, so there is a limit to what you can tell the country about what you are going to do for Alberta." Indeed, despite Webber's statements to the contrary last week, federal officials told *Maclean's* that Masse had privately insisted on decisive action by Alberta on royalties as a quid pro quo for the removal of the PGRT. Masse's linking of the two issues in a speech last August angered Alberta, prompting Conservative Premier Don Getty to suggest that Western separatism was on the rise again.



Natural gas drilling rig; Masse (left); Webber: backroom feuds over energy policy

Alberta was also upset by Masse's rejection of its proposal for a $5-billion stabilization fund. In an Oct. 7 letter to Webber, Masse labelled the plan—in effect, a new floor price for small oil producers in the form of loan guarantees 80-per-cent financed by Ottawa—"complex and interventionist." Said a senior aide to Masse: "They want to go back to a floor price, now that they are victims of the free market they adored so much in the past." Still, Masse acknowledged last week that the situation in the Canadian oil industry is "catastrophic." And he has called a conference of energy ministers in January to discuss national solutions.

The hard bargaining that led to last week's announcement on gas deregulation underscored the tensions between the two governments on energy policy. The October, 1985, transitional agreement committed Ottawa and the petroleum-producing provinces to a "market-oriented" pricing system, which would allow flexible pricing and direct contracts between producers of gas and the distribution companies or industrial customers in Eastern Canada. A final deal was to be hammered out by November 1, 1986. A central part of the interim agreement was a commitment by Ottawa to review the so-called "surplus test," which is used to determine how much Canadian natural gas could be exported to the United States. As a result, the National Energy Board substantially relaxed its surplus test last May—designating anything over a 15-year domestic supply to be an exportable surplus. But the Alberta government said that the new level still prevented producers from taking full advantage of sales prospects in the U.S. market.

At the same time, Alberta insisted on changes to the "adjacent border test," under which Ottawa endorsed the principle that Canadian consumers would never pay more for gas than Americans living in adjacent regions. Said one federal participant: "Alberta was determined that on this one, fat-cat Ontario was not going to be the winner again."

In the end, Ottawa agreed to most of Alberta's demands. In the crowded Macleod Room of Calgary's Convention Centre, Masse declared that Ottawa and the producing provinces would "withdraw from administering interprovincial natural gas prices," meaning that the free market will now determine the rates for buyers and sellers. The export surplus test, he said, would be reviewed once again by the National Energy Board in light of "significant changes" in the Canadian gas market, and the border test would be abandoned in favor of after-sales monitoring to ensure that Canadian consumers "are not placed at a disadvantage" in relation to U.S. buyers.

Sources on both sides acknowledged, however, that the talks threatened to collapse until the very last moment. Alberta angered federal officials by temporarily refusing to grant routine gas-removal permits to distributors as part of its bargaining strategy. And the attitude of some Alberta officials, Masse told *Maclean's* in an interview last week, was affected by "the left-over milieu of 15 years of bitterness and mistrust." In fact, senior advisers to Masse had to dissuade him earlier this autumn from delivering a hard-hitting speech that would have denounced the "scare tactics" being used by Alberta. However, after last week's announcements, both sides downplayed the differences that almost scuttled it. As one well-placed Calgary Tory said, the Alberta government leaders had "done a lot of gratuitous fed-bashing lately."

Still, the contentious deregulation arrangements promised to spark further problems. Ontario's Energy Minister Vince Kerrio said even before the announcement that he did not agree with changes that might penalize Eastern gas consumers. For his part, federal Liberal energy critic Russell MacLellan predicted that natural gas deregulation would be "a colossal disaster." Said MacLellan: "They're just going to give our surplus gas away to the U.S. market, and household consumers in Canada won't get any break."



MIKE P DEWOOD

There was more agreement on the likely impact of Alberta's royalty reductions. Analysts were particularly pleased with the size and scope of the royalty cuts, but others warned that a drop of just 80 cents (U.S.) a barrel in world oil prices—now hovering around $15 a barrel—would wipe out its effects. Said Bob Price of Calgary-based Peters & Co. Ltd.: "It's definitely positive, and it will at least result in jobs being retained—maybe not created, but at least being retained."

The fundamental question last week was how much longer the industry could weather the slump in world oil prices. With a cash-flow reduction of about $4.5 billion this year, and more than 40,000 jobs lost, Ian Smyth, managing director of the Canadian Petroleum Association, maintained that "we've only seen the beginning of the shake-out." In fact, it was increasingly clear that the only durable solution to the woes of the Canadian oil industry—and to the conflict over energy policy—was a sustained increase in the world price of oil.

—MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa with JOHN HOWSE in Calgary

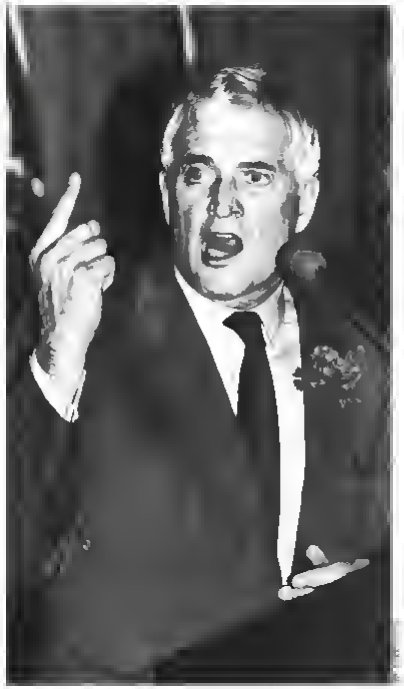
Turner's struggle in the homestretch

The first question about his leadership came less than five minutes after Liberal Leader John Turner began to field calls on a Toronto radio open-line show last week. The caller noted that Turner was working hard to earn his party's endorsement at a Liberal party convention to be held from Nov. 27 to 30. Then, citing a series of opinion polls published last week, he added, "You are actually dramatically trailing the party in support." Clearly taken aback, Turner noted that both Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and New Democratic Leader Ed Broadbent were also trailing their parties in the polls. "What does that prove?" he asked. The caller was undeterred. "I admire tenacity," he told Turner, "but the fact is, among the three party leaders you're in last place."

Such debates are now part of Turner's daily routine, as he vigorously courts delegates to the party's annual convention in Ottawa. Those 3,500 delegates must decide by a majority vote whether they want a leadership contest. As the crucial test approached last week, both pro- and anti-Turner factions were fighting to gain momentum. First, the provincial executive of the Manitoba Liberal party passed a resolution in support of Turner. Then, 1,000 Nova Scotia Liberals fervently cheered Turner at their annual meeting in Halifax.

But at midweek the anti-Turner forces released a letter signed by 252 Liberals which proclaimed that party members could remain loyal while voting for a leadership review. Later a Toronto *Globe and Mail* poll revealed that 44 per cent of the respondents said that former Quebec MP Jean Chrétien would make the best Liberal party leader, only 20 per cent favored Turner. As the struggle continued, many Liberals said that they simply could not decide who was winning—or how to vote. Confessed one senior Toronto Liberal: "My attitude on the whole thing changes from day to day."

That ambiguity haunted Turner and his foes. But both sides agreed that Turner has gained delegate support in recent weeks as a result of Liberal strategist Senator Keith Davey's criticisms of the Liberal leader's abilities. Turner supporters contended that Davey's remarks had annoyed many grassroots delegates because the party has a tradition of discipline and loyalty to its leader. As a high-ranking British Columbia Liberal put it: "Keith Davey has done the impossible. He has saved John Turner." But Davey vehemently denied a *Maclean's* story (Oct. 20) which said that the senator and close confidants had a plan to replace Turner with former prime minister Pierre Trudeau.



Turner distracting delegates with policy issues

The Turner forces have also tried to distract delegates from the leadership issue with the reminder that the convention must weigh 282 policy resolutions. Released last week, the proposed resolutions from provincial organizations include calls for a guaranteed annual income, an end to testing of U.S. cruise missiles in Canada, universal access to day care and government regulation of prostitution. Turner loyalists have also adopted a compromise resolution on proposed changes to the Constitution—in order to defuse a potentially embarrassing confrontation with Trudeau at the convention. Last summer Turner voiced support for a resolution adopted by Quebec Liberals which recognized the "distinct character" of Quebec society. The resolution offended many party members, including Trudeau, who argued that Turner had ignored the bilingual nature of Canada. The new compromise, drafted by Quebec Liberal MP Donald Johnston last month, recognizes Canada's "linguistic duality." Senior Liberals said that Trudeau, after consulting Senator Michael Pitfield, accepted the compromise.

Despite those manoeuvres, the anti-Turner coalition also gained renewed momentum last week. Firing the first shots in a four-week public campaign, the coalition drafted a letter to party president Iona Campagnolo signed by 252 Liberals, including Senators Lorna Marsden and Pierre De Bané. The letter advised her that the leadership review mechanism would not be in the party constitution "if it were disloyal to use it." National organizer Gary McCauley, a former Moncton MP, added, "John Turner has had two years to prove himself—and he has not done it."

Then came the *Globe and Mail* poll of 2,039 Canadians by Environics Research Group Ltd. showing that Chrétien was preferred to Turner by a margin of 2 to 1. Among those respondents who said they would vote Liberal, 53 per cent preferred Chrétien as leader, while only 26 per cent favored Turner. Last week Turner shrugged off those results and said, "The only poll that really counts is an election." But a senior Liberal close to Turner conceded, "The delegates leaning toward Turner will now start to rethink their vote." That prospect ensures that the bitter tug of war will continue right up to the moment of the convention balloting.

—MARY JANIGAN with PAUL GESSELL in Ottawa, BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal and DOUG SMITH in Winnipeg



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Farewell to Billy Joe

The premier spoke softly and sadly "This is a sad day for me," said John Buchanan, "a sad day for this House and it's even sadder for me on a personal basis" Buchanan had called a special sitting of the Nova Scotia legislature to pass a single bill that would prohibit criminals from serving in the legislature The bill was aimed squarely at former culture, recreation and fitness minister William Joseph (Billy Joe) MacLean, who refused to resign his seat after his conviction last month on four counts of uttering forged documents When the Conservative premier took his seat, MacLean sent a thank-you note over to his longtime friend Then, Buchanan bowed his head and silently wept

The new legislation—barring anyone from being elected to the House for five years after conviction of an offence punishable by more than five years in jail—was passed by a unanimous vote Buchanan had little choice but to join it. His government has faced mounting criticism since a 1984 auditor general's report cited irregularities in MacLean's expense claims. The maverick Cape Breton MLA finally quit the cabinet in April, only days before the RCMP charged him with 10 separate fraud counts And the pressure intensified on Oct. 3 after he pleaded guilty to four charges relating to a $22,000 expense claim and received a $6,000 fine Halifax's *Chronicle-Herald* urged Buchanan to "take all possible steps to remove the colleague who has betrayed the trust of his party, his government, the assembly and the public."



MacLean pleading guilty was 'cheaper'

Sixteen days later Buchanan, godfather to one of MacLean's daughters, evicted his friend from the Tory caucus and issued an ultimatum: resign or be forced out. But MacLean refused to go, contending he was still owed money for past expenses In fact, MacLean insisted that his only crime was sloppy bookkeeping and that he had pleaded guilty to save the party from the negative publicity of a lengthy trial Said MacLean, 49 "It wes cheaper to do it this way." Meanwhile, another Tory backbencher, Gregory MacIsaac (Richmond) faces a preliminary hearing in February on a fraud charge MacLean, who has promised to fight his ouster in the courts on constitutional grounds, offered MacIsaac some advice. "Watch out for the media, watch out for politicians you think are your friends—and I wish [you] well."

—CINDY BARRETT with DEBORAH JONES in Halifax

Quebec's CF-18 triumph

The decision, said Brian Mulroney in the House of Commons, was "a painful one and a difficult one." For months the Prime Minister and his cabinet had agonized over a billion dollar contract for the maintenance of Canada's sophisticated CF-18 fighter jets By September the contest had assumed all the markings of a classic confrontation between Central Canada and the West A technical evaluation team had ruled out one of the three bidders, a consortium led by IMP Group Ltd of Halifax. That left the cabinet to choose between two other groups—Bristol Aerospace Ltd of Winnipeg or Canadair Ltd of Montreal Last week the government announced that it had chosen Canadair—sparking anger in Manitoba, and delight in Quebec Declared Quebec Liberal MP Jacques Guilbault. "There was bound to be someone happy and someone unhappy, and my area is happy"

In Manitoba, politicians and business leaders accused Ottawa of making its decision on purely political grounds. A visibly irate Premier Howard Pawley called the decision "cynical and callous" Referring to Mulroney, Pawley added "Frankly, I cannot trust the man I cannot trust the Conservative party." Added Bristol president Anthony Bowden, whose company spent close to $5 million on its bid. "The politicians have bowed to the power of Quebec."

In Ottawa, federal Treasury Board president Robert de Cotret acknowledged what military officials had quietly been saying for months—that

In Manitoba, politicians and business leaders quickly accused Ottawa of making its decision on purely political grounds

Bristol was the clear winner of the competition on technical grounds And Bristol's bid—$100 5 million for the first 3½ years of the contract—was $3 5 million below Canadair's But de Cotret said that Canadian-owned Canadair could make better use of the sophisticated technology it must acquire to maintain the fighters Bristol's business in maintenance of aircraft, but Canadair also designs and builds them In fact, during the lobbying that preceded the award, Canadair warned Ottawa that if Bristol won the contract, it would mean the end of Canadair as a designer and manufacturer The cabinet, said de Cotret, concluded that "the country as a whole" would benefit more by putting the technology in the hands of Canadair

But there were other reasons for Ottawa to favor Canadair When it became clear that the military favored the Bristol bid, Quebec business leaders, unionists and politicians rallied to support Canadair Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa declared that the contract—expected to create close to 350 jobs in the Montreal area—was crucial to the province Even Bourassa's political nemesis, former premier René Lévesque, said that Quebec deserved the contract because it had received only a small portion of the $2 4 billion in benefits from the original CF-18 purchase in 1980 By contrast, Bristol and Manitoba MPs pointedly avoided the debate, saying the contract should be judged solely on technical merits. Said Winnipeg MP Lloyd Axworthy: "They made a fatal mistake—they thought they could play it on the straight and narrow." For Bristol, the decision was a high price to pay for a lesson in power politics

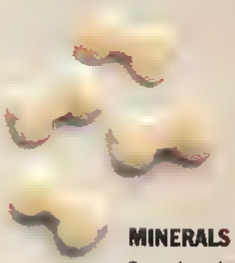
—MARC CLARK in Ottawa

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Sopinka and Scott (right), Parker (below) 'conceptual' discussions only

An inquiry's 'new phase'

When the commission investigating conflict-of-interest charges against former federal cabinet minister Sinclair Stevens began last July, most observers expected that it would be over by Thanksgiving But last week, as the marathon drama began its 16th week in Toronto, the protagonists showed no sign of inquiry fatigue Indeed, Stevens's lawyer, John Sopinka, announced at midweek that a "new phase" of the inquiry was about to begin, involving several weeks of defence testimony His star witnesses Noreen Stevens, wife and business partner of the former minister of the department of regional industrial expansion (DRIE), followed later this month by Sinclair Stevens himself Sopinka's ambitious agenda prompted William Parker, the 72-year-old judge of the Ontario High Court who chairs the inquiry, to note wryly that the commission might have to expedite its work because in two years he had a speaking engagement at the 1988 Winter Olympic Games

In his strongly worded submission, Sopinka vowed that Stevens, who resigned his post last May amid allegations that he had breached federal conflict-of-interest guidelines, would be vindicated The heart of the charges against the Toronto-area MP that he had used his public position for private benefit and that he had continued to manage assets—namely, his financially troubled holding company, York Centre Corp.—even though they had been placed in a blind trust Declared Sopinka "The evidence so far has been overwhelming that the minister acted at all times in the public interest."

Before Sopinka attempts to prove his client's innocence, Noreen Stevens must confront a series of damaging revelations documented by commission counsel David Scott. In July Stevens's ministerial assistant and former private secretary, Shirley Walker, admitted "blending the York Centre business and ministerial functions" Her stenographic notebooks generated a lively national controversy when Scott suggested that she had acted as a messenger by carrying advice from the minister to his wife on a proposed reorganization of the York Centre holding company Such a role, Scott suggested, would have violated federal guidelines, under which Stevens had placed his assets in Gill Construction Co.—which controlled a network of Stevens family businesses, including York Centre—in a blind trust



Later, Stevens's chartered accountant, Mel Leiderman, testified that long after his client's appointment to the cabinet, he met twice with the couple at their farm north of Toronto to discuss strategies for refinancing the York Centre companies And Toronto financier Thomas Kierans, president of the McLeod Young Weir Ltd investment firm, testified that Stevens had arranged for him to meet Noreen Stevens regarding problems with a bond portfolio worth more than $14 million Four days later, Kierans added, Stevens offered him a job as deputy minister in his department—an offer he declined. Parker will also have to weigh the allegation that may have prompted Stevens's resignation. In 1985 Noreen Stevens obtained a $2.6-million loan from Toronto businessman Anton Czapka In the same year Magna International Inc., the auto-parts firm that Czapka co-founded, received $13.9 million in grants from Stevens's department During 17 hours of gruelling testimony, Czapka flatly denied any connection

In his submissions last week, Sopinka argued that a conflict of interest would not arise unless Stevens knew about transactions of the family firms and gave preferential treatment in return for his own private advantage Any discussions between Stevens and private businessmen relating to the family's business empire were "of a conceptual nature," Sopinka said That defence is directly at odds with the line taken by counsel Scott—that Stevens breached conflict guidelines by continuing to influence his private interests To determine that, Parker must interpret the guidelines himself, including the section that addresses spousal activities The guidelines, introduced by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in September, 1985, are not enforced by legislation Instead, implementation is the responsibility of individual cabinet members and senior civil servants

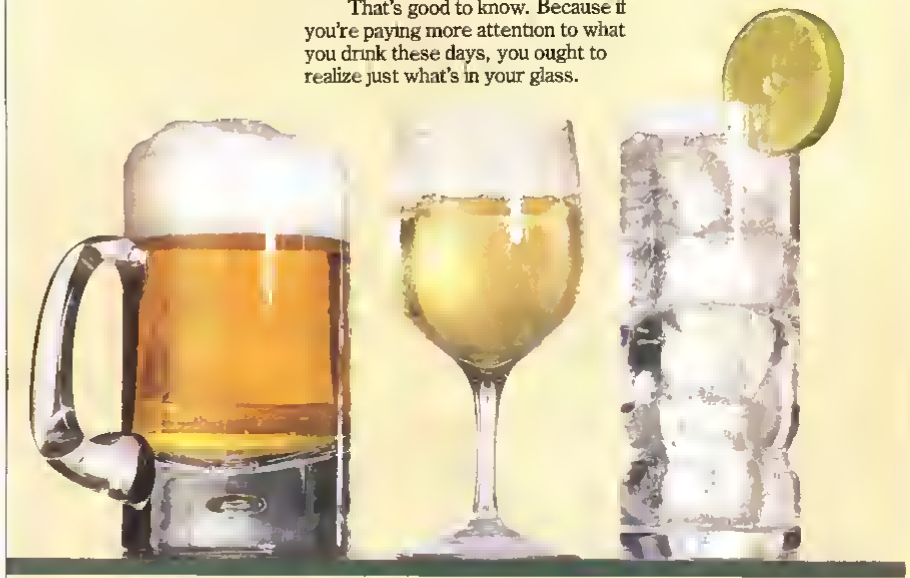
When she testifies this week, Noreen Stevens is expected to describe the dilemma of trying to manage a business while being married to a politician Her husband admitted recently that the inquiry and all its attendant publicity has exacted an emotional toll Much of her time recently has been spent at the couple's farmhouse The former minister has been attending Parliament, maintaining a stony silence from his new seat on the fringe of the front benches. But when his wife steps out of the witness box, Sinclair Stevens will have the last word—testifying on just how difficult it is for a politician not to appear to be minding his own business

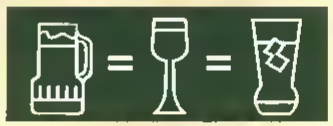
—SHERRI AIKENHEAD in Toronto

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On the road to a new Vietnam?

The two bombs that exploded outside U.S. Army installations in Puerto Rico last week sparked only minor headlines in the American press. But their significance may have outweighed the damage they caused. When an anonymous caller from a radical Puerto Rican liberation group known as the Machete Wielders phoned news offices to claim responsibility, he listed a fresh grievance anger over reports that the U.S. government was considering the island as one of three possible training sites for the Nicaraguan guerrillas known as contras.

Indeed, those bombings may mark the beginning of an explosive new era in U.S. politics. This week Washington began to send the first instalment of its official $100-million military aid package to the contras under provisions of a bill—stormily approved by Congress on June 25 and signed by President Ronald Reagan late last month—that will keep the entire operation classified. U.S. officials would give no details of the weapons to be sent or the training sites to be used, but showed no reluctance about publicizing recent Soviet shipments of arms to Nicaragua in preparation for the stepped-up conflict. According to Pentagon reports, a Soviet freighter two weeks ago unloaded at least six more powerful Mi-25 helicopter gunships, doubling the Sandinista government's inventory of the so-called "flying tanks" to about 12.

With the influx of arms to both sides, observers agreed that the Nicaraguan conflict had moved to a new phase with ominous implications for the entire hemisphere, including Canada. "We are on an irreversible path to war," said Laurence Birns, director of the liberal Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs. "The question is what kind of war is it going to be a contained conflict or a region-wide conflict?" Birns added that escalating tensions could endanger the nearly $11 million in economic aid that the Canadian government sends annually to Nicaragua, as well as the lives of the approximately 40 Canadian volunteers who administer a range of humanitarian projects there. "It will be a miracle," said Birns, "if some foreign nationals, including Canadians, are not killed."

That concern was echoed in Ottawa, where the external affairs department has quietly stepped up its efforts to warn all Canadian workers in Nicaragua to take extra security precautions. The department has alerted the left-wing Sandinista government in Managua to its concerns and is currently reviewing its procedures in case of a crisis. Said a spokesman for External Affairs Minister Joe Clark: "Obviously we are worried about Canadians being caught in the cross fire."

That possibility could have a serious impact on the efforts of at least 30 Canadian charitable groups—from Canadian University Services Overseas to the Anglican Church of Canada—that have projects in Nicaragua. "If Canadians were killed, there would be repercussions—absolutely, undoubtedly," said John Graham, director general of External's Caribbean and Central American affairs bureau. "How serious they would be and in what direction they would lead would depend on what happened." But, Graham added, "the conclusion is that the situation is likely to become more violent, and there will be more blood."

Foreign volunteers have already been caught up in Nicaragua's war. This year John Harder and two other Mennonites of the Peace and Justice Working Group, based in Kitchener, Ont., witnessed the aftermath of crop and school burnings by the contras on Nicaraguan territory. In July three Western European civilians were killed near the Honduran border during a contra mortar attack. And last May, eight West German volunteers working in the village of Jacinto Baca, 260 km southwest of Managua, were held hostage by the contras for nearly a month. At the time, retired U.S. Maj.-Gen. John Singlaub, who organized a private network to circumvent a congressional ban on U.S. government aid to the contras, declared that the Germans were "not hostages—they are prisoners of war." Singlaub told *Maclean's* that any foreign citizens working in Nicaragua would be considered in the same category, including Canadians.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has been discreet in opposing U.S. sponsorship of the contras. But in a September speech in Vancouver to the Inter-American Press Association, he declared that his government was against any "third-party intervention" in Central America. For his part, Birns predicts that as tensions increase, they could widen the split between Washington and Ottawa—and America's European allies—over Reagan's Central American policy. Still, that prospect does not appear to concern the U.S. state department. Said one U.S. official: "Should we not supply the contras because there are a few people from allied countries who side with the Sandinistas?"

Some analysts predict that the current $100 million in contra aid is only a down payment on the administration's determination to overthrow the Sandinistas. Observers say that the White House will ask for a large new injection of funds by next fall to institutionalize the war effort before the end of Reagan's second term. Said John Burstein of the liberal Washington Office on Latin America: "We are developing stronger and deeper commitments to the contras, which makes it more difficult to extricate ourselves."

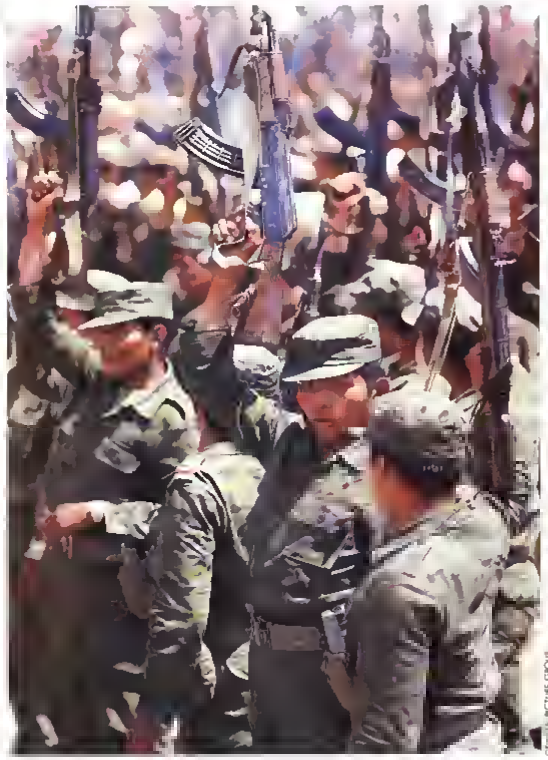
Some analysts point out that the military ineptitude the contras have so far demonstrated makes it unlikely that they will be able to capture and hold any Nicaraguan territory within the next year. The rebels still need training on the sophisticated weaponry being shipped to them. Meanwhile, Laurence Birns predicts, the U.S. administration will increasingly use "Latin American freelancers—former Argentine terrorists and Cuban-American pilots" to fill in while the contras are being trained. The Sandinistas agree. Nicaraguan Vice-President Sergio Ramirez last week told *Maclean's*, "What we expect, under the cover of the $100 million, are CIA mercenary commando raids against important economic targets before the spring." But he appeared to discount the effectiveness of the contras themselves. "We do not expect to see any great improvement in their capability," said Ramirez.

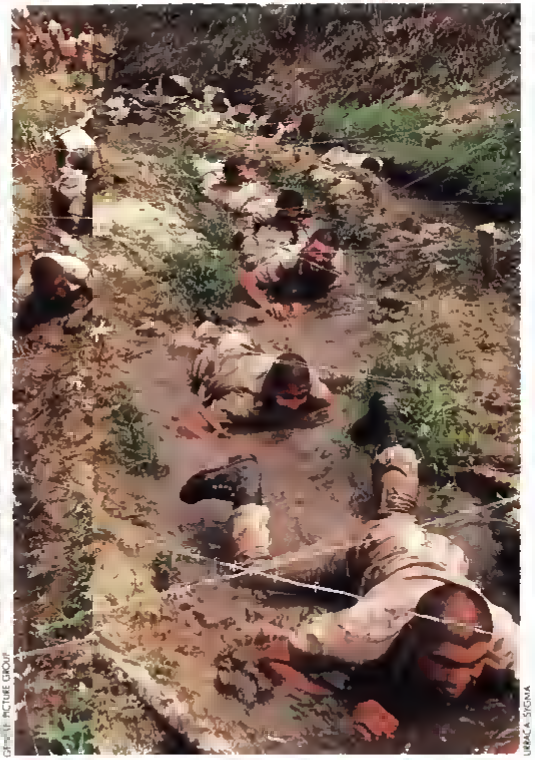
A debate is currently raging within the U.S. administration between those who are urging a gradual buildup in Central America and others who want an all-out military effort. Birns says that if the militarist faction wins, it could mean a series of bombings using U.S.-supplied aircraft. Among the possible targets: Nicaragua's only oil refinery and Sandino international airport, both near the capital, Managua. Birns argues that to convince Congress of the operation's viability—and so ensure future funding for the contras—some "highly visible victories" are needed, and quickly.

In Central America, where prospects of heightened conflict have already increased tensions, the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras—currently the main contra staging ground—have refused permission for the Americans to train rebel commanders on their soil. But last week Elliott Abrams, undersecretary of state for inter-American affairs, toured the region in an effort to negotiate a change of mind. Meanwhile, alternative contra training sites are currently being considered on U.S. soil. Besides Puerto Rico, they include the Army Special Forces' home base at Fort Bragg, N.C., and Eglin Air Force Base on the Florida panhandle. But the final site chosen will never be made public, in case that would provoke protest demonstrations. Said one state department official: "If you were a commander, how would you feel about a couple of thousand religious fanatics lying outside your gates?"

Indeed, Minnesota Republican Senator David Durenberger, chairman of the Senate select committee on intelligence, which will oversee aid to the contras, expressed concern that the Central American conflict could divide the American people in the same way that the Vietnam War did nearly two decades ago. Within two years, he said, "you will see more Americans involving themselves on the other side." Added Durenberger: "That is what happened in Vietnam, and regardless of what anybody says, this is Vietnam."

—MARCI McDONALD in Washington with PAUL GOEPFERT in Managua





Sandinista soldiers, contra guerrillas (right) 'an irreversible path to war'

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REUTER

Students under arrest in Seoul: stern measures for a rising wave of protest

KOREA

A tense state of siege

For three days the stalemate continued. On one side, 7,000 South Korean riot police, under orders from their government to crush a student revolt, encircled five buildings on the modern Konkuk University campus in eastern Seoul. Inside, more than 1,200 jeering radical students kept the police at bay by flinging stones and gasoline bombs from the rooftops. Then, after 67 tense hours of siege, the standoff came to a violent end last week. In one of the worst police-student clashes in South Korea's history, the massive assault force stormed the five burning campus buildings and arrested 1,219 students who were protesting against President Chun Doo-hwan's military dictatorship as well as calling for the reunification of the country with Communist North Korea. But the police action only sparked more violence. Within hours students began to protest in other centres and government officials closed a university in the western city of Inchon. Declared an education ministry official: "We will suspend classes at other universities if they are troubled with disturbances, particularly by sympathizers of North Korea."

Since last June, South Korea has been embroiled in an increasingly violent national conflict over constitutional reform—specifically, dismantling the current system in which only an electoral college of 5,600 members can vote for president. On Oct. 18 more than 2,000 antigovernment protesters marched in Seoul to demand the release of Yoo Sung-hwan, a legislative member of the opposition New Korea Democratic Party who was arrested after calling for unification with North Korea. The police subdued demonstrators with clubs and tear gas. But after a meeting of several high-ranking government officials, including Prime Minister Lho Shin Yong, officials announced an even tougher stance against leftist dissidents. Said Shim Myung Bo, a spokesman for the governing Democratic Justice Party: "From now on, a stern, steady crackdown will be placed on any groups related to left-leaning activities." Indeed, following their assault on the Konkuk campus, police charged the leaders of last week's protest under the National Security Law, which provides stern penalties, including death, for pro-Communist activities.

The siege at Konkuk University ended dramatically at 8:30 a.m. on Oct. 31, when the jeering students defied an ultimatum to surrender or face attack. With helicopters swooping low over the campus, the police fired thousands of canisters of tear gas into the buildings and firemen turned more than 20 water cannons on the students. Then, several hundred police in riot gear launched a five-pronged assault on the occupied buildings while students hurled stones, burning mattresses and gasoline bombs from the rooftops. The police worked their way slowly up furniture-filled stairwells to the roof, where most of the students had taken refuge. Witnesses said that they saw policemen force students to kneel, then beat them with wooden clubs. According to university officials, the students—about one-third of them female—caused an estimated $3.3 million in damage by setting fires that gutted two buildings. Police said that the students began the siege with an arsenal of 750 ready-made fire bombs and nearly 200 bags of rocks.

The government and opposition have been at odds over the issue of when to enact constitutional reform ever since National Assembly elections in February, 1985. Chun, a former head of South Korea's secret police who seized power in 1980, has promised to retire as president in 1988. But he plans to postpone direct presidential elections until after his successor is chosen using the old system. Dissident leader Kim Young-sam has called for direct presidential elections to end what he terms a "one-party dictatorship." But when a special parliamentary committee charged with working out a compromise failed to meet its Sept. 30 deadline, opposition leaders renewed their antigovernment rallies.

At week's end, the violence had already escalated. More than 8,000 students at six other universities in Seoul and two in the southern city of Pusan were involved in battles with riot police. In Seoul, 5,000 students threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at police and chanted in unison, "We will fight until the end," and "Down with dictatorship." But for the students—and even the opposition members in parliament—the battle for a freer society in South Korea clearly will continue to be fought in the streets.

—KEVIN SCANLON with correspondents' reports

SAUDI ARABIA

Downfall of an oil czar

The predawn announcement on Saudi state radio was terse and to the point. His majesty King Fahd had issued Royal Decree Number One, relieving Ahmed Zaki Yamani as Saudi Arabia's oil minister, a post he had held for 24 years. With an autocratic wave of the monarch's hand, the illustrious career of a man whose most casual comments once caused tremors in financial markets around the world had ended. Despite rumors several times in the past that Yamani was on the verge of resigning, no such reports preceded his abrupt departure last week. And the succinct royal statement left no doubt that Yamani had been summarily fired.

But the timing of King Fahd's action was significant. Yamani's dismissal came a week after a marathon 17-day meeting of oil ministers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) ended in Geneva on Oct. 22. In the past 10 months oil has tumbled to half its December, 1985, price of $40 per barrel. King Fahd—under pressure from both the United States and Iran—made it clear before the meeting that he wanted oil prices raised and fixed at $25 per barrel and Saudi Arabia's production quota kept at 4.35 million barrels per day. According to observers, Yamani was opposed to the king's strategy because it defied the basic supply-and-demand laws of economics—and would result in a worsening oil glut. In the end, the ministers renewed a temporary agreement on production quotas aimed at nudging fallen prices upward by limiting oil supplies. But last week Yamani's successor, Planning Minister Hisham Nezar, immediately called for a meeting of OPEC's pricing committee to try to reimpose a benchmark on an unruly oil market.

Yamani's peremptory dismissal after a quarter-century in the limelight came as a shock to the oil industry. Still, many industry experts said that the length of Yamani's tenure was extraordinary. In the West, Yamani was mistakenly called "sheik," a title denoting noble origins. But in Saudi Arabia, despite his formidable talents, Yamani, 56, was a commoner. That, said Middle East observers, was at the root of his downfall. Said one Saudi observer: "Anybody who is not a member of the royal family and who gets too big for his boots is setting the stage for his own departure."

In his early years in office Yamani found a protector in King Faisal—the current king's brother—who launched him on his career. They made an odd combination—the austere, fiercely conservative old monarch and the suave young technocrat, a graduate in law from Cairo University who went on to complete a Master's degree at the Harvard Business School. But the unlikely relationship worked. King Faisal guarded the aggressive commoner against jealous courtiers. Then, with the 1973 Arab oil embargo, Yamani became an international figure as the chief spokesman of the newly powerful oil cartel, OPEC. With his immaculate grooming, fluent English and diplomatic skills, Yamani struck the world as a modern Arab, demolishing the old image of the robed fanatic.

But Yamani's hold on the levers of power began to slip in 1975. On March 25 that year in Riyadh, Saudi Prince Faisal ibn Musad, who according to palace spokesmen was suffering from mental instability, shot and killed his uncle, King Faisal, while Yamani stood by helplessly. King Faisal was succeeded by his half-brother, Khaled, who died in 1982. When Crown Prince Fahd became king, he at first considered Yamani to be indispensable and protected him from political enemies. But the relationship between the two men was not strong. Over the past six months—during which oil prices plunged dramatically—cracks began to appear in their alliance because the two men favored different solutions to the crisis.

Some observers said that Saudi Ambassador to Washington Prince Bandar acted as a channel for U.S. pressures on King Fahd to push oil prices up to the $25 mark. The U.S. oil industry—hard hit by OPEC's price collapse—would be better able to compete against foreign imports at the higher price. Others pointed to Iran, which has been pushing for increased prices to help finance its costly six-year war with Iraq. But Yamani's supporters say that King Fahd has made a mistake in firing him and calling for a return to fixed oil prices. "There is no way it can work," said one insider. "Yamani's great talent was that he could always retrieve the situation no matter how bad it had got. If this move comes to grief, the Saudis will be stuck right up the creek, having fired the pilot."



Yamani: a peremptory dismissal after 24 years as the Saudi oil minister

—JIM MUIR in Nicosia

MIDDLE EAST

Division in the ranks

In mid-September Paris was a city under siege. Five bomb blasts in 10 days had left 10 people dead, and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac vowed a "crushing and unflinching" response to terrorists, whom French officials linked with Syria. But last week that French resolve seemed to evaporate. At a meeting in Luxembourg, the British government asked its 11 European Community (EC) partners to adopt sanctions against Syria for its alleged role in the attempted bombing of an Israeli airliner in London last April—a plot that prompted Britain to sever diplomatic ties with the regime of Syrian strong man Hafez al-Assad on Oct. 24. The meeting, however, produced nothing stronger than a verbal condemnation of the unidentified state agencies involved in the bomb plot—and the opposition to Britain's plan was led by France. Explained Jacques Toubon, a Chirac aide: "To lose our heads and strike brutally would have been a policy of hara-kiri for a country like ours."

The EC stance angered many Britons—"Eurowimps let down Britain," headlined London's *Daily Mail*—and France bore the brunt of the criticism. The French position was further compromised by reports last week that Paris had struck a secret deal with Syria. According to the newspaper *Le Monde*, the French agreed to make a major sale of weapons to Syria and, in return, Syria used its influence to end the wave of bombings in Paris—at least temporarily. But Denis Baudouin, a spokesman for Chirac, denied that there was any such truce. And although he acknowledged that the government had authorized the sale to Syria of armor plate and other "defensive material," Baudouin stressed that France would accept an EC ban on arms sales to Damascus should one be imposed. Still, most diplomats say that France has been negotiating with Syria on terrorism—and French citizens seem grateful that the bombing campaign has ceased. "If it takes concessions to stop the bombs," said French political commentator Richard Lissier, "the French will support concessions even if it annoys our allies."

While denying reports of a secret arms deal, the French refused to take diplomatic action against the Syrians

Britain's breach of diplomatic relations with Damascus followed the Oct. 24 conviction of Jordanian Nezar Hindawi, 32, who was jailed for 45 years for trying to blow up an El Al jet by hiding a bomb in the carry-on luggage of his pregnant girlfriend, 32-year-old Ann Marie Murphy. An El Al security guard discovered the bomb before she could take it on board at London's Heathrow Airport. Although Hindawi denied the charges, police said that he had earlier confessed that Haithem Said, a senior Syrian air force intelligence officer, had recruited and paid him to blow up the plane. Following Britain's rupture of relations with Syria, the U.S. government withdrew its ambassador from Damascus and Canada called back its ambassador, Jacques Noiseux, for what Ottawa described as "consultations." But the EC countries rejected the British proposal either to recall ambassadors or restrict the operations of Syrian Arab Airlines.

Observers linked the French opposition to sanctions with earlier press reports that France was negotiating to sell Syria helicopters and artillery. Then came the *Le Monde* report tying the arms deal to a wider arrangement on terrorism. According to the newspaper, the French sent a message through Syrian and Algerian officials to the family of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, the 35-year-old Lebanese Christian who is awaiting trial in France for the 1982 murders of Lt.-Col. Charles Ray, a U.S. military attaché in Paris, and Yacov Barsimantov, second secretary at the Israeli Embassy there. French officials say that Abdallah's family was behind the Paris bombings. The French message, the newspaper said, was that Abdallah might be acquitted for lack of evidence at his trial in February—if there were no more bombings in the meantime. Late last week two more bombs exploded but no one was injured.



Chirac's stance that angered many Britons

In any case, French officials denied a deal. But Interior Minister Charles Pasqua conceded that the two countries' security services are now working together against terrorism. "We have had several missions that went to Syria," Pasqua told a Saudi Arabian magazine, "and I really think that this collaboration is bound to develop." Beyond curbing terrorism in Paris, the French have other reasons to cozy up to Damascus. They need the Syrians' help in securing the release of seven French hostages in Lebanon. And they are anxious to avoid further attacks on French troops in the United Nations' peacekeeping force in Lebanon.

The sanctions question will arise again at an EC meeting in London on Nov. 10. Meanwhile, Britain will veto the renewal of $195 million in EC aid to Syria at a meeting in Brussels this week, a move designed to stir London's European allies to stronger action. At the same time, both Washington and Ottawa are trying to coordinate any future moves with the Europeans, and France could be the key. French President François Mitterrand said that if evidence clearly implicated any country in terrorism, "there can be no compromise." That could be a signal that the socialist Mitterrand might try to push the conservative Chirac into taking a firmer stand against Syria.

—BOB LEVIN with BRIGID JANSSEN in Paris, ROSS LAVER in London and HILARY MACKENZIE in Ottawa



THE PHILIPPINES

Aquino's cabinet revolt

The gesture was fraught with political overtones. At a cabinet meeting last week, Philippines President Corazon Aquino invited Defence Minister Juan Ponce Enrile to sit beside her at the conference table. "Johnny, why don't you occupy the seat?" Aquino suggested, indicating the empty chair between them. "No, ma'am," Enrile replied. "People might say something." The empty chair also underlined the conspicuous absence of the man who usually sits at Aquino's right hand, Vice-President Salvador Laurel—who said later that he had been suffering from a cold.

The small but symbolic acts clearly signalled that both men intended to continue their harsh criticisms of Aquino's policies, despite warnings from U.S. diplomats that President Ronald Reagan wanted them to stop. In fact, later that day Laurel issued a veiled challenge to Aquino by proposing that a January plebiscite on the country's new constitution include the question of whether she should face new presidential elections next May. Referring to the overthrow of strong man Ferdinand Marcos last February, Laurel said, "We did not topple down tyranny only to be subjected to another attempt to impose unanimity."

Eight months after leading the military revolt that helped bring Aquino to power, Enrile now stands as the greatest single threat to her presidency, with Laurel adding his weight to the campaign against her. Enrile, who was defence minister in the government of then-president Marcos, has voiced strong opposition to Aquino's attempts to negotiate a ceasefire and eventual peace with the Communist insurgents who are active in 62 of the country's 74 provinces. "After a ceasefire, then what?" Enrile asked reporters recently. "What is theirs is theirs, and they will want to negotiate for what is ours." For her part, Aquino said last week that she would resort to "the drastic surgery of warfare" if she failed to negotiate a settlement of the 17-year-old rebellion.

Aquino's supporters have rushed to defend her against her near-mutinous cabinet members. The president's press secretary, Teodoro Benigno, said that Laurel should resign if he campaigned against ratification of the new constitution. Under its terms Aquino is to remain in the presidential palace until 1992. The president's brother-in-law, Agapito (Butz) Aquino, also called on Enrile to resign at a rain-drenched rally in Manila last week. He was speaking to 10,000 "Moderates for Cory"—Cory is the president's nickname—who had assembled in support of her stand on peace negotiations. Enrile's criticisms, said Agapito Aquino, were "destabilizing the government." So far, the United States is standing firmly behind President Aquino in her efforts to rule her divided country. Said state department spokesman Charles Redman: "U.S. support for President Aquino's government is complete and unequivocal."

Still, Enrile has the support of the man he helped to overthrow. In Honolulu exiled former leader Marcos told Filipino newspaper reporters that he kept in touch with Enrile "through friends" and would forgive him if he stopped the Philippines from turning into "another Vietnam." Marcos's supporters in the Philippines form a significant if poorly organized force, who stand to gain as much credibility from Enrile as he does from them.

Enrile, who boasts the nickname "Johnny Rambo," is the only member of the Marcos administration to serve in Aquino's cabinet. In 1972 he was the author of the declaration of martial law imposed by Marcos and he administered the dictatorial emergency powers until they were lifted in 1981. Now, the 62-year-old Harvard-educated lawyer travels in a bulletproof Ford Econoline van with two dozen bodyguards armed with Uzi submachine-guns. Marcos is reported to have once said that Enrile could never lead the Philippines because he was hotheaded and too emotional. That volatility was evident last week when Enrile addressed a 25,000-strong pro-Marcos rally in downtown Manila. When the crowd chanted "Down with Cory," Enrile responded with "Down with communism." But he accompanied his words with a thumbs-down sign—another significant gesture in his anti-Aquino campaign.

—KEVIN SCANLON with LIN NEUMANN in Manila



Aquino asking Enrile to sit beside her at a cabinet meeting: facing real and symbolic challenges to the presidency

AUSTRIA

Voices from the past

Slowly, allegation by allegation, denial by denial, the story unfolds—but it does not get much clearer. Last week brought another spate of conflicting statements in the continuing controversy over the wartime record of Austrian President Kurt Waldheim. *The Washington Post* reported that Waldheim, after months of denials, now acknowledged that he had served near Kozara, Yugoslavia, the site of a brutal Nazi operation against partisans and civilians in 1942. Waldheim's personal spokesman Gerold Christian was quoted as saying that "additional research" had revealed that Waldheim had been there. But Christian insisted that Waldheim was merely a supply officer and "never took part in any way in actions against partisans or Jews." And he flatly denied another *Post* report that after the war Soviet intelligence tried to blackmail Waldheim into becoming an agent by threatening to charge him with war crimes.

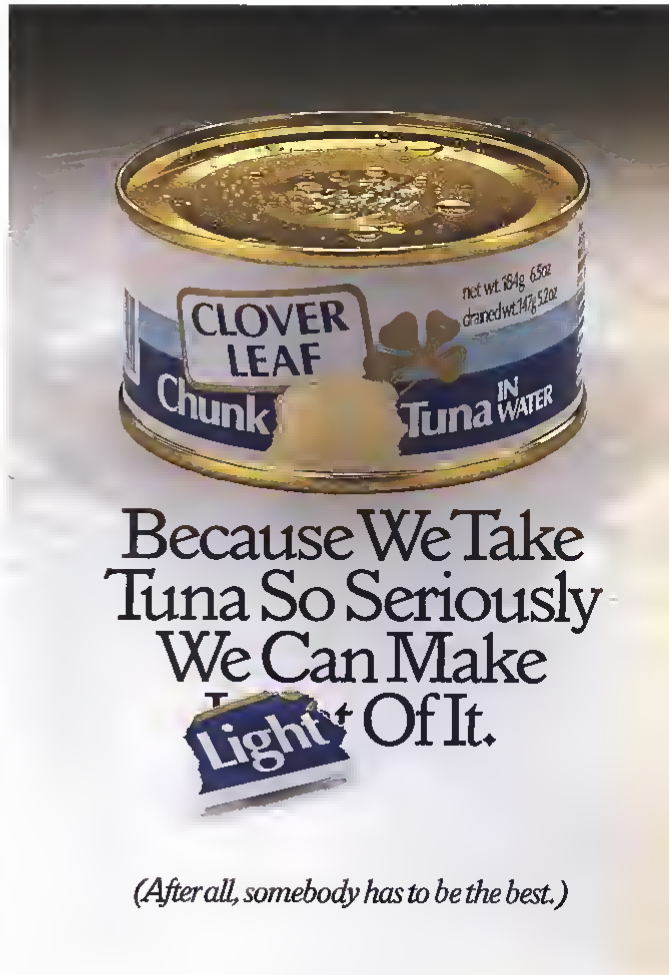
The World Jewish Congress first raised questions about Waldheim's wartime service last March when the former United Nations secretary general was running for his country's presidency. Waldheim initially maintained that his active service had ended in 1941 and that he had not known of any atrocities against the Yugoslavs. But he has gradually—and clumsily—revised that position as more revelations emerged. In the latest, the *Post* cited German reports showing that Waldheim was on the staff of Gen. Friedrich von Stahl, commander of the Kozara operation that resulted in the deaths of some 26,000 people and the evacuation of 68,000 to concentration camps or forced labor. Further, Stahl recommended Waldheim for the King Zvonimir Medal for "heroic bravery in the battle against the insurgents"—an unlikely award for someone who served as a supply officer.

Christian said that the *Post* report was nothing new. He said Waldheim acknowledged to an Austrian newspaper last April that he had served at Kozara. And a spokesman for the U.S. justice department said that he had also confirmed Waldheim's service in Kozara to U.S. officials in August.

The *Post* report on the alleged Soviet attempt to blackmail Waldheim was based on interviews with former Yugoslav officials. According to the newspaper, Anton Kolendic, the senior Yugoslav intelligence agent in Vienna in 1947-1948, said that he had turned over a dossier of allegations against Waldheim to Soviet intelligence and that he was "absolutely certain" that the Soviets had approached Waldheim about becoming an agent. Kolendic later denied that he had told the *Post* that he was certain, and Waldheim was quick to say that the report was groundless.

But the allegation seemed sure to raise anew the question of why Yugoslavia left Waldheim alone even after he became UN secretary general. The implication, widely cited in the Austrian press, was that the Yugoslavs—and the Soviets—felt that they could bend Waldheim to their will. There is no evidence that they did. But even the suggestion could add to Waldheim's pariah status. This week 35 foreign ministers meet in Vienna for the Helsinki accords review conference—and Waldheim, Austria's president, will be conspicuously absent.

—BOB LEVIN with SUE MASTERMAN in Vienna





Tokyo Stock Exchange; Sanderson (below): using computers to bypass borders and tap international stock markets

BUSINESS/ECONOMY

Round-the-clock trading

In the cavernous Tokyo Stock Exchange, traders are accustomed to shouting orders for the shares of Honda Motor Co Ltd., Hitachi Ltd and other Japanese companies But the blue-suited traders are becoming increasingly adept at selling the shares of foreign firms Montreal-based Bell Canada Enterprises Inc, for one, listed its shares on the Tokyo exchange a year ago, and Chrysler Corp. of Detroit appeared on the exchange in September Last month the Royal Bank of Canada became the fourth Canadian company to list in Tokyo Japan has become a magnet for large companies seeking financing because of its $90-billion capital surplus—earned largely from exports—and its recently relaxed stock-trading rules But the popularity of the Tokyo exchange is only part of the booming growth in international trading made possible by computers that enable investors to tap markets day and night from Sydney to New York. Said Graham Aitken, the Royal Bank's senior vice-president and treasurer "Now there are only three hours in a 24-hour day when our stock is not traded somewhere."

For corporations and investors, round-the-clock electronic access to foreign markets means that the quest for a better deal is almost limitless As computer links between stock exchanges proliferate, trading in stocks, bonds and currencies is transcending time zones, national borders and regulatory jurisdictions Worldwide, 472 companies now trade their shares on more than one stock exchange, up from 234 at the end of 1984 And in the case of Canadian companies that trade in both Canada and the United States, 48 per cent of the trading in their stocks so far this year has been on U.S markets



Last week the London Stock Exchange opened its doors to competition as it adopted a sweeping set of regulatory changes known collectively as the Big Bang (*Maclean's*, Nov 3) For its part, the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC), which oversees the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSE), is drafting regulations that would permit foreign investment firms to increase their ownership of Ontario-based investment dealers—a move that some dealers have called the Little Bang Some experts argue that the changes are necessary because only larger firms have the capital required to compete internationally Said Michael Sanderson, chairman of Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. "Toronto must keep pace with the foreign exchanges in order to stay as one of the world's leading capital markets"

The key to the explosive pace of international trading is the computer Before automation, dealers relied on Telex and telephone conversations with foreign brokers to trade a stock outside the country According to Donald Hudson, president of the Vancouver Stock Exchange, sometimes the delays prevented the deals from concluding that day and the stock quotations would change Now, if there is a better market in the United States, a Toronto trader on the floor of the TSE can use his computer terminal to instantly trade a stock, such as Imperial Oil, on the American Stock Exchange (AMEX) through a computer link with the TSE According to Larry Haughton, a partner and trader at McCarthy Securities Ltd. in Toronto, within the next six months traders in Paris and London will be able to buy and sell TSE-listed stock using computers And eventually computers will allow traders to deal instantly on exchanges from London to Tokyo.



Beck, Pascutto (right): the Little Bang sparks a 'classic Canadian dilemma'

For companies, the growth of computerized world trading has made it easier to raise more money through increasingly large stock issues. Traditionally, the size of new stock offerings has been limited to what dealers think the local market can absorb If stock was issued and left unsold, the share price tended to fall But during the $6 5-billion privatization of British Telecom in 1984, the British government successfully sold all three billion shares by issuing them simultaneously in the London, U.S, Japanese and Canadian markets Indeed, the limited capacity of the Canadian capital market to absorb large stock issues was one reason for the Royal Bank's decision to list in Tokyo last month. Said Geoffrey Styles, the bank's vice-chairman "We needed to go outside In some instances, we are getting too big for Canada"

In North America the fastest-growing market is the National Association of Securities Dealers Quotations (NASDAQ), which operates entirely by computer and does not have a trading floor NASDAQ's rapid growth is spurred by the fact that its trading rules are less restrictive than other markets It now trades 300 foreign issues—three times the number of foreign issues on the New York and American stock exchanges combined This year NASDAQ has added 208 new company listings, for a total of 4,344, compared with 22 new listings on the NYSE, with 1,563

In Ontario upcoming changes to securities regulations are designed to help stem the flight of capital to foreign exchanges and to thrust Toronto's Bay Street, Canada's financial capital, into the thick of global trading Last June, Ontario's minister of financial institutions, Monte Kwinter, announced that the government would permit foreign brokers to own as much as 30 per cent of a Canadian investment firm, up from the current limit of 10 per cent Non-Canadian investment firms would also be allowed to open their own subsidiaries, providing the capital of their combined operations did not exceed 30 per cent of the domestic industry's total capital Ontario may also propose a revision to the federal Bank Act to allow banks to buy 30 per cent or more of a securities firm Banks currently are prevented from owning more than 10 per cent of another Canadian corporation

For their part, bank executives are holding talks with major Bay Street brokerages. According to one securities firm chairman, Bay Street rumors have paired Wood Gundy and the Royal Bank However, a bank official has denied the rumor Said Paul Cantor, president of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce's Investment Bank, which has already acquired two brokerage firms abroad "We need to have the right to acquire up to 100 per cent of an investment dealer in order to build the Canadian link into the global network"

If the Ontario government introduces its changes as planned on Jan 1, they could alter the face of the Canadian securities industry Many domestic investment dealers are concerned that they will be hurt as huge multinational securities firms, capable of driving down commissions, gain a foothold in Canada Indeed, Tokyo-based Nomura Securities Co Ltd, the world's largest investment dealer, is planning to open a subsidiary in Toronto with a staff of 25 in January But Ermanno Pascutto, a director of the OSC, says that he does not believe that Canadian companies will be overwhelmed by the increased foreign presence Said Pascutto "Canadian companies have the advantage of competing on their own turf and dealing with clients they know very well"

In anticipation of the upheaval, Canadian investment firms are scrambling to build up their capital by going public or joining forces Nesbitt, Thomson Inc of Montreal and Pemberton Houston Willoughby Inc of Vancouver have each offered shares in the past four months And on Sept 30, Nesbitt Thomson bought F H Deacon Hodgson Inc of Toronto Last week Toronto's Dominion Securities Ltd bought Montreal's Molson Rousseau Inc. for $10 million Said Dominion president Anthony Fell "We are going to see some more major mergers"

The move to deregulate the Toronto stock market also raises the fundamental issue of who should have sovereignty over Canadian finance Said Stanley Beck, chairman of the OSC "This is the classic Canadian dilemma how do we create a sufficient opening to improve ourselves and at the same time protect ourselves?"

Canada's ability to respond to the rapid changes in international securities trading is hampered, some experts argue, because the country has no national agency that regulates securities—only provincial commissions In the meantime, the OSC and the U.S Securities Exchange Commission have agreed to co-operate on surveillance and information sharing Now, as the Royal Bank and other companies move to invest in such lucrative foreign markets as Japan, it is the regulators who are scrambling to keep pace

—ANN WALMSLEY with THERESA TEDESCO in Toronto and DAVID LINDORFF in New York





Reid, Hill (right), Rideout (below): missing funds, seized cars and lost trust

Scandal in a small town

Just before 3 o'clock on the afternoon of Wednesday, Oct. 29, a sheriff and his deputy knocked at the door of one of the most elegant homes in Corner Brook, Nfld. After exchanging a few brief words with the home's owner, 46-year-old financial planner George Rideout, the policemen departed, taking with them a midnight-grey Lincoln Continental from the detached two-car garage. A short while later the sheriff and deputy returned and took a second car, a meticulously refurbished 1932 Chevrolet. The seizures were dramatic evidence of an escalating controversy surrounding the trim, good-looking Rideout, who until a few weeks ago administered more than $1 million in annual health plan premiums for the Salvation Army's 4,000 officers and employees across Canada.

One day before the car seizures, on Oct. 28, the Salvation Army's Eastern Canada governing council had applied to the Supreme Court of Newfoundland to order two companies controlled by Rideout into bankruptcy. In Corner Brook (population 24,000), a paper mill town on the coast of Newfoundland's rugged western highlands, lawyers acting for residents who had given money to Rideout for investment purposes tried to reclaim their clients' funds. And RCMP commercial crime specialists in Halifax and St. John's continued to investigate allegations that at least $1 million may be missing from accounts handled by Rideout's two troubled companies, Counsel Ltd. and George Rideout and Associates Ltd. Last week Rideout, a Salvationist from birth who plays flugelhorn in the Army's Corner Brook Temple band, told *Maclean's* "I have done nothing wrong." He added: "There have been no charges laid. I do not even know who my accusers are."



A series of lawsuits, police investigations and frantic financial manoeuvrings have beset the Corner Brook investment agent for more than a year. Documents obtained by *Maclean's* show that as long ago as October, 1985, several private clients of George Rideout and Associates had accused Rideout of failing to invest their funds as agreed. Some clients who threatened to inform the police if Rideout did not reimburse them did get their money back, but in some cases only after Rideout wrote several cheques that were later returned for lack of funds. And some of Rideout's clients say that they are still missing tens of thousands of dollars—representing, in some cases, their life savings.

The RCMP investigation of Rideout's financial affairs started after the Halifax office of Toronto-based broker McLeod Young Weir, which had dealings with Rideout, conducted its own private investigation earlier this year. The company's inquiries began after Donald Ripley, McLeod's regional vice-president, received a series of telephone calls at his Halifax home starting in June. The woman caller, who spoke with a Newfoundland accent, refused to identify herself. She told Ripley that she had information about a dispute that McLeod had with a company operating out of Corner Brook. The woman called Ripley several times over a period of six weeks, providing him with additional details, and Ripley confirmed some of the information. Then he contacted Calvin Hill, president of Intertel (Canada) Ltd., a Toronto security company. Said Ripley last week: "I was instructed [by head office] to get Mr. Hill to go to Corner Brook."

Hill flew into the Newfoundland community on Aug. 24. He was unable to locate Ripley's anonymous caller, but his inquiries led him late that day to the home of Corner Brook

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surgeon Dr. Robert Butt and his wife, Connie. The couple told Hill that they had given Rideout and Associates four cheques totalling $100,000 between January, 1977, and November, 1982, and instructed him to purchase tax-deferred annuities from Maritime Life Assurance Co. of Halifax. And until January of this year, the couple said, they never asked Rideout for proof that the annuities had actually been purchased. As for the improbable delay, Connie Butt told *Maclean's*, "We trusted him." Finally, Butt's accountant wrote to Maritime Life and learned, last April, that no annuities had been issued in their name. For the next three months the distraught doctor and his wife pressed Rideout for repayment, threatening to go to the RCMP if their account was not settled. Recalled Connie Butt: "I called him every three days. The idea was not to expose him, not to embarrass him, just get your money back." Late in June Rideout repaid the Butts a total of $181,000, representing their initial investment plus interest.

For his part, Hill said that when he heard the Butts' story, he quickly realized that he was not dealing with a civil case. Said Hill: "It really was a criminal investigation." On Aug. 26, he reported his suspicions to the RCMP's Corner Brook detachment, which assigned a uniformed officer to join him to interview another of Rideout's clients, Eugene Manion and his wife, Nina. A retired businessman and investor who lived in Steady Brook, near Corner Brook, Manion said that in 1981 he had given $250,000 to Rideout and Associates to invest in a Maritime Life annuity. But in October, 1985, Manion discovered that the annuity had not been purchased. Manion, who threatened to report Ridsout to the police, demanded repayment of the original sum, plus $222,979 in interest. Rideout finally repaid the entire amount of $472,979 in March, 1986—partly in gold bullion—but only after several cheques had bounced.

After talking to Manion, Hill delivered a seven-page handwritten statement to the RCMP. And on Aug. 27, three days after the private investigator's arrival in Corner Brook, the Newfoundland department of justice approved a request from the RCMP commercial crime unit in St. John's to open an investigation into the affairs of Rideout and his companies.

Maclean's has also learned that Maritime Life did not renew its sponsorship of Rideout's Newfoundland licence to operate as an insurance agent last Dec. 31 after he failed to provide audited financial statements for his operating companies. Said Maritime Life senior vice-president William Black: "We didn't like the way he was doing business. We were dissatisfied with the clarity with which he kept the books of his various companies separate." In fact, the licence from Maritime was the only professional certification held by Rideout, who identified himself as an "estate planning specialist," an unregulated sector of the financial market in Newfoundland.

For Rideout, events quickly turned for the worse after Hill's August visit to Corner Brook. On Sept. 10, RCMP officers raided his home and offices, removing 26 boxes of files. For his part, Rideout launched a court action in late September seeking to overturn the warrants that the RCMP had used and to have the Mounties return his documents.

At the same time, the Salvation Army became concerned about the status of its health plans. Rideout was paid an administrative fee to operate the health benefit plan for the Army's 2,000 officers. In the case of the Army's health plan for its 2,000 em-

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ployees, Rideout acted as an agent, transferring health plan payment cheques from Army accounts to Maritime Life. Then, on Sept. 1, 1986, the Army switched insurance companies, appointing Constellation Assurance of Toronto in place of Maritime Life. In order to cover its plan costs during the transition period, the Army made an advance payment of three months' premiums to Counsel Ltd., one of Rideout's companies.

But on Oct. 7, the Salvation Army ordered an internal audit of its health plan funds. Then, on Oct. 21 the Army appointed the financial firm of Marsh and McLennan Group Associates of Toronto to replace Rideout as an administrator and transfer agent for its two health plans.

Two weeks ago, on Oct. 24, Rideout and Associates closed and locked its offices, located on the upper floor of a two-storey building owned by Rideout on Corner Brook's Park Street. Then, four days later the Salvation Army moved to order Rideout and Associates and Counsel Ltd., the building's only other tenant, into bankruptcy, claiming that the two companies owed it more than $505,000. Said Col. Edward Reid, the Army's general secretary: "We don't know what is recoverable. It seems pretty murky."

Although the Butts, Eugene Manion and some of Rideout's other clients have recovered their money, other individuals may not be so fortunate. Brian Wentzell, a Corner Brook lawyer acting for several other Rideout clients, said that Elizabeth Hegedus, for one, a Corner Brook native who now lives in Ohio, won an uncontested judgment against Rideout on Oct. 24 in the Supreme Court of Newfoundland. Hegedus stated that Rideout had failed to return $90,912.10 plus interest that he had accepted in 1982 for an annuity that was never purchased. In all, according to RCMP investigators contacted by *Maclean's*, between $1 million and $3 million appears to be missing from the two Rideout companies.

Last week George Rideout spoke to *Maclean's* in the sunroom of his newly redecorated three-storey home, which was once used by executives of the local paper mill. Declared Rideout: "I was lily-white, clean and pure until last February. Now I have been destroyed." But Rideout refused to comment on the details of the Butts' or Manion's extraordinary statements. And moments later, he excused himself to hand over the keys of his antique Chev to the local sheriff.

—CHRIS WOOD in Corner Brook with CATHY WHITE in St. John's

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TIP TOP

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These overcoats are impeccably tailored in the Leishman tradition for quality.

A. This cashmere and wool blend overcoat combines classic styling with a luxurious Italian fabric. Choose from grey or navy

B. Our pure wool Scottish tweed overcoat was designed in the classic single breasted style with straight flap pockets. Choose from grey or navy tweeds.

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A This season, plain shaker knits are the height of fashion. Ours are designed with crew necks and traditional raglan sleeves from 100% machine washable acrylic yarn. Choose from an outstanding collection of the latest Fall shades.

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PATTERNED SHETLAND SWEATERS

B Bold geometrics and classic argyle patterns make up this collection of pure wool Shetland sweaters. They are available in both crew and V-neck styles and a variety of exciting colour combinations.

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JACQUARD SWEATERS

C. These acrylic, crew neck, double jacquard sweaters are available in "over" patterns in an exceptional range of exciting shades. Machine washable for easy care.

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LID SHETLAND SWEATERS

iese pure wool solid shade Shetlands ature traditional saddle shoulders and available in a variety of fashion ades. Choose from crew or V-neck yles. (Not shown)

OW 14.99

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These lightweight acrylic sweaters are as practical as they are attractive. This collection is machine washable and features V-neck styling in both cable fronts and solid styles. Many exciting shades to choose from. (Not shown)

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SOLIDS
NOW
12.99
SAVE 50%

PATTERNED
NOW
17.99
SAVE 12.00

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Our corduroy pants are an essential for Fall Choose from pure cotton or cotton blend fabrics in an assortment of versatile seasonal shades. These cords were tailored exclusively for us and priced right for you Co-ordinating belt included on some styles.

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SAVE 10.00 and up

TIP TOP

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Our 100% acrylic scarves are 60 inches long and available in red, ivory, grey and navy
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B. SOLID AND FANCY SCARVES
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C. TERRY CLOTH ROBES
Our robes are 46" long One size fits all Available in royal, white, emerald and taupe
NOW 29.99 SAVE 10.00

D. VELOUR ROBES
Our velour robes feature contrasting trim, a 48 inch length and one size fits all Choose from royal, charcoal and wine
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E SPORT SOCKS
Canadian made quality in a 95/5% cotton lycra blend.
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F ARGYLE SOCKS
These Canadian made socks feature a 60/40% wool/nylon blend
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G SPORT GLOVES
Choose poly/cotton poplin sport gloves with velcro closures and colourful stripes
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H. DRESS GLOVES
Our pigskin dress gloves are hand stitched and feature a cotton acrylic liner.
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I LEATHER BELTS
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A These fashionable two tone parkas are ideal for the slopes or the city They are designed for comfort and durability and loaded with important features These parkas offer a rugged poly/cotton poplin outershell to keep you warm and dry, polyester fiberfill throughout the body and a drawstring waist with cord locks Length 33 inches

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B. This warm and wooly melton cloth peacoat is a classic It's 34 inches long for more warmth and features double breasted styling and a red wool blend liner

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Tip Top Tailors is Canada's largest swear retailer Through the years our steady ith to over one hundred and seventy stores hot led us away from close contact with our rners. On the contrary in spite of our size, ave always remained dedicated to customer ce. And now, with the help of the latest ology we are able to offer you a level of ice that is virtually unmatched in the swear industry We call it Preferred tele Service a concept that allows us to put our many resources to work directly for the idual who chooses to become part of it

FERRED CLIENTELE SERVICE ES OUR CUSTOMERS TIME MONEY

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HOUR ALTERATIONS

A guaranteed 24 hour alteration service is ded on new merchandise for all Preferred tele.

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TANT CHECK-OUT

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Preferred Clientele are able to pre-book ointments to ensure the optimum in customer ce.

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TIP TOP

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By purchasing directly from the most respected fabric mills in the world and combining those purchases with our intimate knowledge of fashion, we are able to create menswear here in our own Canadian factories that reflects the best of what the world has to offer

And because we manufacture a great deal of what we sell we are able to offer our customers exceptional value and the highest standards of quality In cases where an item is not made by us our people ensure that our standards are not compromised

YOU DESERVE MORE

Tip Top Tailors offers a great deal to Canadian men but we think you deserve even more When you add the quality of our merchandise and the exceptional value of world class menswear to the benefits of Preferred Clientele Service, you'll be taking advantage of the very best we have to offer

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BIRTHDAY _____ MONTH _____

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Shirt Size _____ Language Preference

Jacket _____ E ☐ F ☐

Waist _____

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One of this seasons best outerwear values is our 40 inch executive length down and feather filled parka, designed from a poly/cotton fabric. Features include a 70/30% blend of down and feathers throughout the body and sleeves, a detachable coyote fur trimmed hood and a heavy-duty two way zipper. Available in grey and beige.

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TIP TOP

Our tradition is quality.
Our reputation is value.



Gold bars stacked at the Royal Canadian Mint promoting the Maple Leaf abroad

Flight of the Eagle

For six weeks the four large coin presses at the West Point Depository worked around the clock minting up to 40 gold coins an hour. The United States' second-largest gold storage facility, located on the Hudson River 75 km from New York City, had the honor of producing the United States' first-ever bullion coin. And when the American Eagle landed two weeks ago, the overwhelming consumer response resembled a gold rush. Americans, accustomed to purchasing foreign-produced coins, formed long lineups to purchase the homegrown Eagle. Indeed, the entire 800,000 coin stock was sold after two days. Said Viola Litwin, who drove 48 km from New Jersey to purchase a $50 coin for $663.55 at the Republic National Bank in Manhattan: "I'm for buying American."

The entry of the American Eagle into the world bullion market came at a time when gold is regaining its lustre among investors. Recently the price of the precious metal has soared, closing at $561.56 an ounce last week in London, up from a low of $403.10 early last year. Indeed, more countries are introducing gold coins, partly to fill in the gap left by the South African Krugerrand, previously the world's best-selling coin. Last year the United States, Britain and Japan banned imports of the Krugerrand to protest South Africa's policy of apartheid. As a result, sales fell dramatically and South Africa stopped minting the coin last November. Since then the Canadian Maple Leaf gold coin has replaced the Krugerrand as the top seller, capturing 65 per cent of world sales.

Most bullion analysts declared that the Eagle will be the first choice for patriotic Americans, who spent $1 billion on gold coins last year. Buoyed by the unexpected demand, U.S. treasury department officials last week predicted that the American Eagle would become the world's leading coin within a year. They estimated that sales of the Eagle could reach five million ounces—compared with sales of 1.5 million ounces of the Maple Leaf predicted by the Royal Canadian Mint. But many gold experts said that the Eagle, which is 91.67 per cent pure gold, faced a tough challenge outside its borders, primarily from the Maple Leaf. The success of the Maple Leaf, 99.99 per cent pure, has inspired other countries to mint their own coins. China now sells the Panda gold coin, Australia issued its coin, the Nugget, last week, and Japan will issue its gold coin this month to coincide with the 60th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's reign.

For its part, the Maple Leaf has enjoyed strong sales since its introduction in 1979. But its recent surge in popularity has largely been the result of an astute marketing strategy. Three years ago the mint anticipated that U.S. investors would lose confidence in all gold coins, including the Maple Leaf, if the Krugerrand were banned in the United States. As a result, it launched a major effort to carve out new markets in Europe and the Far East.

As part of that campaign, the Crown corporation hired U.S. marketing expert Morris Sandler for two years at a cost of $3.2 million. This year the mint has come under heavy criticism for Sandler's expensive contract. But Robert Huot, vice-president of marketing for the mint, said that during the time that Sandler worked in 1983 and 1984, the mint sold $1.5 billion worth of gold coins, up from $470 million worth in 1982. Declared Huot: "He introduced us to new markets—and it worked like a charm."

For the Canadian mining industry, the Maple Leaf's success and rising gold prices have spurred a dramatic increase in production. Last year the mint bought two million of the 2.7 million ounces of gold produced in Canada, up from 100,000 ounces it used the year before the coin's introduction. Despite its success, only five per cent of the Maple Leaf's sales are in Canada, down from 15 per cent two years ago. Last year both Ontario and Quebec introduced taxes of seven per cent and nine per cent respectively on sales of the Maple Leaf. Mint officials said that the move hurt the Canadian coin because gold bars and wafers were not similarly taxed.

Now the Maple Leaf and the Eagle are expected to square off in the overseas market. Said the mint's Huot: "The Americans in the United States are going to outsell us, but internationally I think they have their work cut out for them." But for the thousands of Americans who stood in line to buy an Eagle, the choice was clear. Said Litwin: "The Maple Leaf is a purer coin, but I just want one of these."

—THERESA TEDESCO with ANN SHORTELL in Toronto and DAVID LINDORFF in New York

Security for the banks

On Oct. 24 the federal government released a 641-page report on the September, 1985, collapse of two Alberta banks, the Canadian Commercial Bank and the Northland Bank. The report's author, Supreme Court Justice Willard Zebedee Estey, a 67-year-old native of Saskatoon and former Toronto trial lawyer, said that although his 11-month inquiry disclosed "no personal dishonesty in any person in private or public service," there were flaws in the system within which the banks operated. It was Estey's third federal inquiry. In 1974 Ottawa asked him to report on the Canadian steel industry, which he concluded was "strong, prosperous and world-class." In 1975 he headed an inquiry into Air Canada and recommended that the airline's management be reorganized—which subsequently happened. Last week, as some of the findings in the bank report triggered furious debate among bankers and auditors, Estey, wearing shapeless grey trousers and a blue sleeveless sweater talked to Maclean's *Senior Writer Rae Corelli in the justice's chambers in the Supreme Court building in Ottawa.*



Estey, a war chest

Maclean's: *What did you find out in your inquiry that affects the ordinary person who deals at his local bank?*

Estey: I didn't find out much because I didn't have a mandate to examine the whole Canadian banking system. But there was a lot of slop-over evidence from the so-called Big Six. From that, I would say that the average guy does not have to worry about our big banks. They are world-size, world-class banks and well-run.

Maclean's: *The government was criticized for using taxpayers' money to bail out troubled banks. What is the alternative?*

Estey: That's the core question. If you have to use public funds, it should be done in such a way that the taxpayer gets his money back. The only way I can see to do that is to combine the inspector of banks and the insurer of deposits and have them accumulate a war chest which could be used to revive a dying bank and restore it to profitability. The banks should finance their own funerals or their own recoveries.

Maclean's: *Where would the money in the war chest come from?*

Estey: At the risk of oversimplifying a pretty complex subject, from two places. The Bank of Canada has about $16 billion deposited with it by the chartered banks to be used to shore them up if they get into trouble. Access to that money should be given to the insurer of deposits and the inspector of banks, combined in a new Canada Deposit Insurance Corp. The second source should probably be a strengthened insurance plan financed by the depositors, the people who use the banking system, who would pay a charge sufficiently large to protect the public against loss. For example, the depositor would pay a rate of interest on a loan that would cover the lender's cost plus whatever he has to put aside for a rainy day.

Maclean's: *In other words, we should aim for a system in which there would never again have to be a federal bailout of a failed bank?*

Estey: There would be a bailout, but it would be financed by the regulators as the holders of the trust funds accumulated by the people you are going to rescue. It is not a taxpayer bailout. The thing you have to remember is that our banking system is essentially a free enterprise element in our industrial-commercial community and it must remain competitive. To keep it dynamic, you must have the possibility of new entries into banking. So now you have a new element of risk. Whoever you admit must insure the world against their failure with the money they get from those who deal with them.

Maclean's: *What would happen if, for example, the Bank of Montreal got into trouble and was allowed to go broke?*

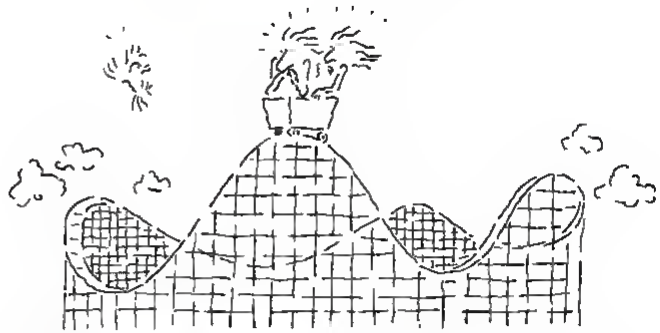
Estey: The ripple effect would be so devastating that we would have a sea of unemployment. That would break down the materialistic and democratic basis of our society.

Maclean's: *There would seem to be something wrong when the failure of a business could destroy a society.*

Estey: That peril doesn't come necessarily from size or mismanagement. In the free enterprise system you have a lot of uncontrollable forces and the banks sit there in the middle of all that—which is why they have to be regulated with an awareness that they are as vital to our well-being as the St. Lawrence River. You don't pollute it and you don't dam it without thinking about it first.



Some Canadians don't have the stomach for high-risk investments.



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Frustrations of a world leader



By Peter C. Newman

Last week's announcement of Inco Ltd.'s miserable nine-months'-earnings results ($2.5 million, compared with $61.9 million for the same period in 1985) points up the continuing agony facing this country's base metal producers.

It was only in the final quarter of 1984, following 13 consecutive quarters of net losses, that Inco's balance sheet slipped into the black, although net income of $72.5 million for 1975 was far below the $425 million—at current rates of exchange—earned in 1974. Third-quarter profits for the current year would have been losses except for gains from the sale of securities and currency earnings, and increases in the prices of platinum and gold. Total revenues are down by nearly $132 million year-to-date, entirely due to a drop in the world price of nickel.

Inco remains the free world's leading producer of nickel, but the company has lost more than $1 billion since base metal prices went into something of a free fall in 1981. The company's financial viability is not in question: more than half of its outstanding debt has been refinanced to extend maturity dates, and $700 million has been raised in half a dozen public debenture issues.

"What we've done over the past half decade," I was told by Inco chairman Charles Baird recently, "is that we've taken close to 40 per cent of the people out of the company, partly by shutting down and writing off our Guatemala mine, but mainly by shrinking our operation worldwide." The company's labor force, currently at just under 21,000, compares with 52,000 at the start of the 1980s.

The positive aspect of those dismal statistics is a corresponding jump in productivity. Inco is turning out about the same quantity of metals with its reduced labor force. "We've tried wherever we can," says Baird, "to mitigate the pain by giving incentives to retire early. Seven or eight years ago we had a thousand retirees within 80 km of Sudbury. Today we have 8,000. And there aren't many people over 55 around the company any more."

One exception is Baird himself. A former marine and undersecretary of the U.S. Navy during the Vietnam War, he is a spry 64. The Inco chairman, who joined the company in 1969 after a lengthy career in the treasury department of Exxon, plans to move back to settle just outside Washington, D.C., in a house that he has already purchased in Virginia, when he retires a year from now. He also has a summer home in the Hamptons, at the end of Long Island. Of his Canadian commitments, he will hold on only to his directorship in the Bank of Montreal. "I became a sort of Canadianized American," he said, "but I did keep my U.S. citizenship."



Baird: efficiently run but in trouble

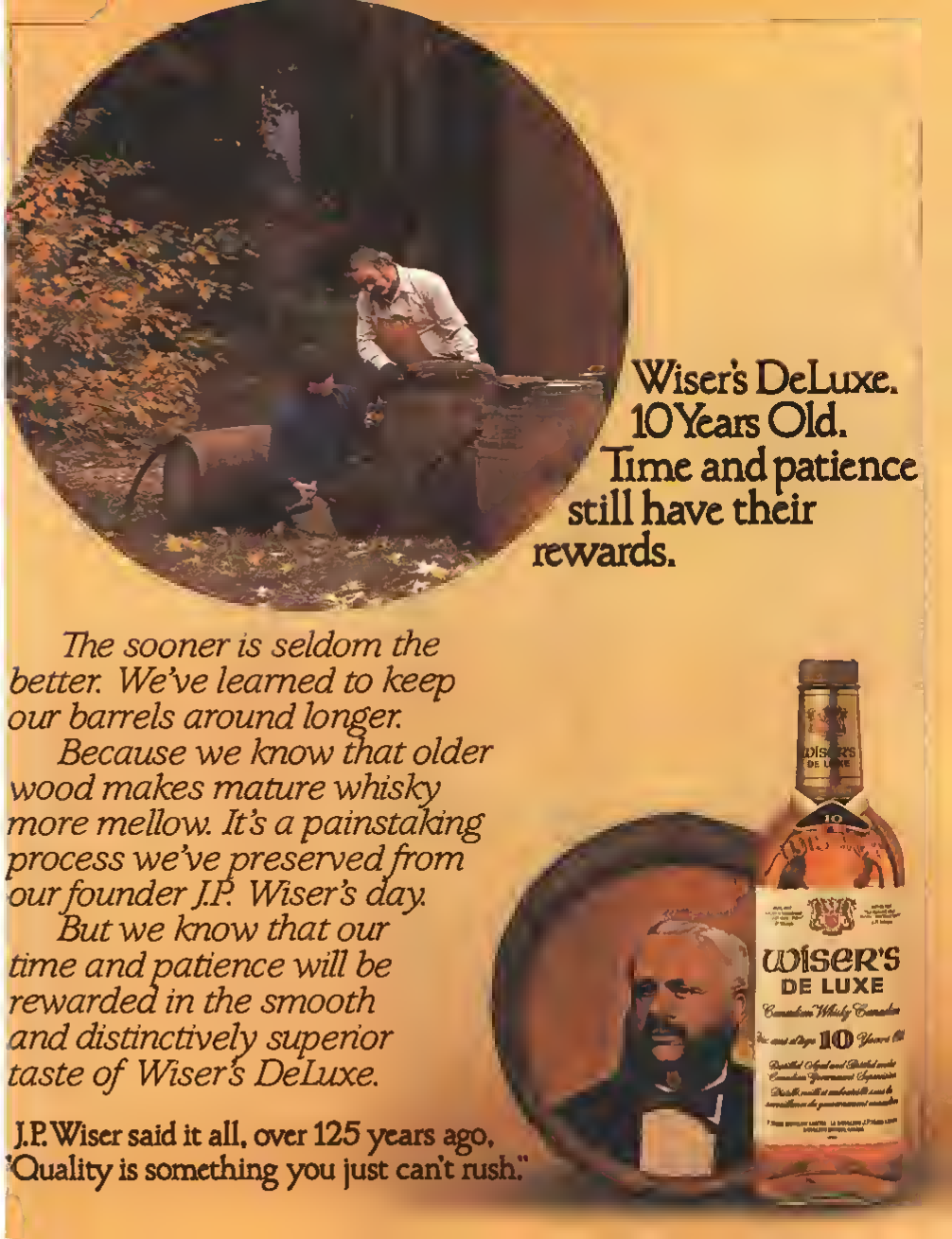
"At the moment," he admitted, "we see world nickel demand growing at only about one or two per cent annually for the next five or 10 years. That's down from about six per cent a year during the 1970s. You have a constantly changing pattern of consumption. If you look for the greatest single use of nickel, it has to be coinage, yet it accounts for only three or four per cent of total sales."

Inco has tried to diversify, with not very impressive results. The company lost $340 million when it bought ESB Inc., a battery manufacturer based in Philadelphia. Smaller but significant attempts at diversification have included Inco's venture capital subsidiary, which has pushed $51 million into 50 start-up programs. That investment, now worth about $100 million, has been centred on such technical fields as the evolution of artificial intelligence, telecommunications and related fields. The most successful single investment is a 17-per-cent interest in Biogen N.V., a Swiss- and U.S.-based biotechnological company developing therapeutic products. The company has been granted a West German licence to produce gamma interferon, used to combat rheumatoid arthritis. The main thrust at the moment is to get into gold, and Inco holds two potentially important prospects—in Casa Berardi Township in northwestern Quebec and at Crixás in central Brazil.

The company's main investments outside Canada include a huge mining and processing operation in Indonesia, which supplies mainly the Japanese nickel market, where Inco has tripled its share since 1980. It runs a small chromite ore mine in New Caledonia and owns a large nickel refinery in Wales. They are all healthy subsidiaries, but international growth, like most capital-intensive projects, has been put on hold.

Inco's head office (divided between Toronto and New York, where all of the financial work is done) has not escaped the drastic cuts. About 56 per cent of positions have been eliminated. Early next year Inco's Toronto head office will be moved across the street from the First Canadian Place to less expensive quarters in the Royal Trust Tower in the Toronto-Dominion Centre to save $970,000 in annual rents. (Chairman Baird also took a 10-per-cent salary cut for 2½ years but is now restored to a take-home pay of $600,000-plus.)

The company's mines and plants keep having to shut down for four to 10 weeks at a time—despite their impressive productivity achievements. Inco is the lowest-cost nickel producer in the free world. The company is efficiently run, its debt load is manageable and there is not much overhead still to be cut away. That this is a company in trouble signals the deep malaise of the Canadian economy.



PARENTS, JOBS AND CLDREN

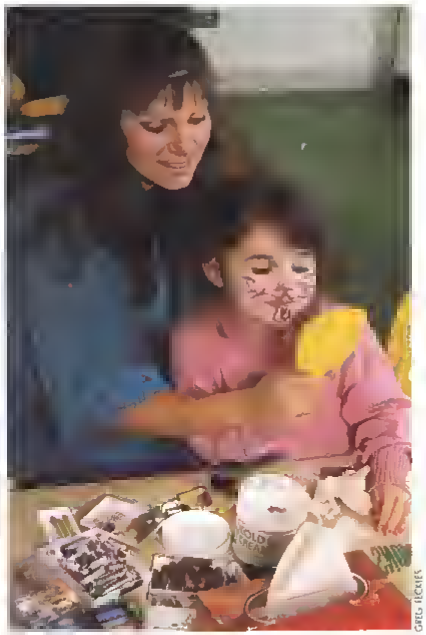
COVER

Four-year-old Gina Schemionek repeatedly made it clear to her parents that she did not like going to the Calgary Day Care Centre every weekday. But her parents—Thomas and Mary, both warehouse supervisors—became seriously concerned about the child's complaints last spring. That was when she began having nightmares and often returned home from day care with bruises on her chest and the back of her legs. Then the Schemioneks discovered, after talking to other parents, that other children enrolled at the centre also had voiced similar complaints. Last August about 20 enraged parents staged a protest outside the centre, some carrying signs that read, "Our children are living in terror." A provincial investigation concluded last month that the staff had treated the children roughly and spoke to them in an "unbecoming" manner, but provincial officials did not take any action against the centre.

Mazaagea: There are mixed messages from the case of Gina Schemionek. To some people, her experience was the result of parents entrusting their children to the care of strangers in order to pursue career goals. Others see it as a classic example of what happens when day care, which they consider to be an essential social benefit, is placed in the hands of profit-oriented operators. Whatever the perspective, the controversy about the centre in Calgary, and the continued demand for its services by the parents of 80 children, dramatically illustrates the scarcity of available day care spaces in Canada. Indeed, Health and Welfare Canada estimates that children in need of some form of day care now outnumber the spaces available for them in licensed centres by more than 10 to one.

As a result, the vast majority of the two million Canadian children whose parents work—or study 20 hours a week—receive what experts call "unlicensed care" from untrained babysitters. In addition to lengthy waits for a place in a good centre, fees can exceed those of the most exclusive private schools—about $6,000 per year. And a fifth of school-age children in Canada are simply left alone to fend for themselves part of every day.

The demand for child care has been fuelled by sweeping social changes in the past 20 years, most notably the phenomenal increase in the number of women seeking paid employment. According to Statistics Canada's 1984 report, *The Labour Force*, the latest available on the subject, more than six out of 10 Canadian women with children under 16 work outside the home (page 52). And as that number increases, the chance of Canadian families finding adequate care for their children diminishes. Alan Pence, director of the University of Victoria's School of Child Care, says that he cannot think of a social phenomenon that has had such a dramatic impact on so many areas of life in Canada. "It is remarkable that we have not made fundamental changes in the way we try to support families," he added.



Greg Hesket

Ottawa day care worker Sylvia Richards: calls for reform

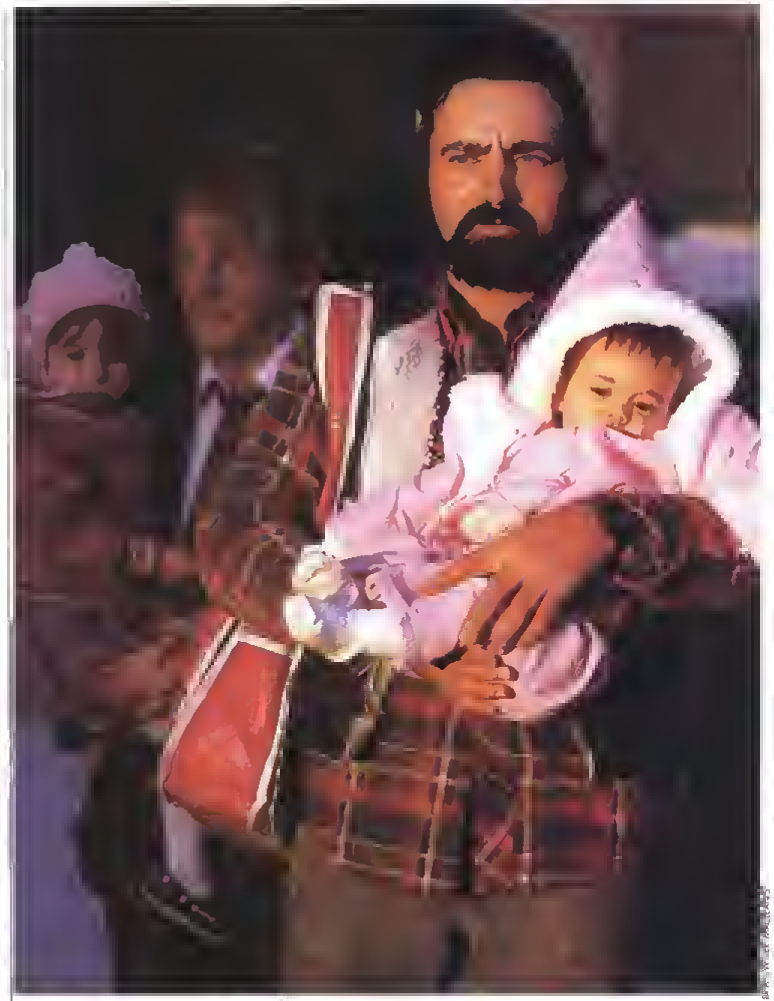
Debate: Day care reform has been a subject for political debate in Canada since 1970, when a report issued by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women suggested that an extensive, publicly financed child care system would allow women to compete equally with men. Since then, such advocates for better care as Lynne Westlake, co-ordinator of the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Association of Ottawa, charge that the federal government has done little except commission further reports on the subject. And she noted that a federal Task Force on Child Care, chaired by retired civil servant Katie Cooke, last spring recommended the establishment of an extensive national child care system available to all Canadians. But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government has not acted on that suggestion. Instead, Health and Welfare Minister Jake Epp has appointed a seven-member parliamentary committee to study the issue. That group's report is due late this month and the Prime Minister has repeatedly said that "substantial advances" in child care are needed. Declared Mulroney to *The Toronto Star*: "A woman should be able to go to work and not be concerned as to whether her child is being properly cared for, either at home or in a facility. This has to be dealt with."

For women who have persistently lobbied for better day care services in Canada, the Prime Minister's statement simply reflects political reality—and all three major parties have acknowledged the need for reform. The New Democrats have long demanded a publicly financed system of universal day care. Liberal Leader John Turner has promised women more accessible day care in their communities and workplaces. "It is not a question of whether they will do anything," declared University of Toronto researcher Martha Friendly, a day care advocate. "They have to do it." Indeed, Friendly described proposals to allow parents tax breaks for day care expenses as "halfhearted measures" compared to proposals for expanded government day care subsidies for all income levels and universal access.

Cling: But Canadians overall remain unconvinced about the merits of subsidized day care. A recent Gallup poll reported that 48 per cent of respondents said that two-income families should not receive any government subsidies for day care. And even if they embrace day care as an economic necessity, many Canadians still cling fondly to the ideal of the nuclear family that prevailed during their own youth, even though the traditional roles—with the man as breadwinner and the woman at home—now exist in only 16 per cent of families.

Still, there has been a marked change in attitude in Canada and the United States since 1972, when then-president Richard Nixon vetoed federal spending on child care because it risked "sovietizing the American family." Now, for many working parents, two incomes are necessary to meet family expenses. But many parents still feel guilty about entrusting their children to strangers. Said Marika Panchuk, 36, a Winnipeg physiotherapy student who enrolled her infant daughter Alexandra in a centre at the age of four months: "It was just horrendous to leave her and I was on the verge of tears all the time."

Influence: Panchuk and her husband, a radio producer, at least made their schedules easier by hiring a full-time sitter, or nanny (page 56). Other parents with the means or influence can make similar arrangements. Mila Mulroney, for one, the Prime Minister's wife and probably Canada's most famous mother,



The daily pickup after work: varying standards, long waiting lists and poor tax breaks for expenses



Alouatte Search Services day care centre; Pépin (below): 'the children of this country have the right to good care givers'

simply takes her youngest child, Nicholas, 14 months, to her office in the Langevin Block on Parliament Hill. There he sleeps in a crib donated by members of the local Yugoslav community. And some employers go to great lengths to accommodate the child care needs of valued employees. Four years ago Hildi Adelheim, the owner of a company which conducts searches for legal documents, faced the loss of six employees who all happened to become pregnant at about the same time. Her solution: six cribs, a nanny and sliding glass doors, creating a day care centre in the offices of Alouette Search Services Ltd., the company she operates in New Westminster, B.C. Said Adelheim, 34: "It has changed the office in the most delightful way."

Guilt: Still, day care in the workplace is uncommon (page 54). Most Canadian mothers in need of day care have little choice in the arrangements they make. Said Gail VanDerWalde, a health care administrator and single mother whose two-year-old son, Maxime, attends a group day care centre in Montreal: "The guilt is there all right. But I've learned to bury it. What choice do I have? I have to work. The alternative is welfare. Would that make him better off?" But the observations of many day care centre workers would do little to allay feelings of guilt. Declared Jean-François Laforte, a worker at Montreal's Notre-Dame-de-Grace Play and Care Centre: "Many parents use day care as an escape. Some bring their child in at 8 a.m. and he's still sitting here at 7:30 p.m., an hour and a half after we're supposed to close. The kids don't even know their parents."

Alarmed: Some parents who have no alternative to day care are alarmed by confusing and contradictory advice—including theories that it might harm children. Although there is little evidence to support such positions, the idea that a mother's unremitting love is needed for the proper emotional development of her children remains deeply rooted in Western culture. In Britain, John Bowlby, a prominent psychologist, helped slow the spread of day care centres in the 1950s by warning against the purported dire effects of "maternal deprivation." And in the United States, child development expert Burton White urges parents to avoid day care for children under three because of what he says is its potential for retarding development.



Ideology: But Harvard psychologist Jerome Kagan, one of the world's leading child development experts and author of the influential 1984 book, *The Nature of the Child*, argues that such theories contain more ideology than fact. Indeed, Kagan notes that research into day care has failed to prove early theories about its possible harmful effects. He cites an influential study published in 1982 by Alison ClarkeStewart, a professor at the University of California at Irvine. After testing 150 two- to four-year-olds, she found that children who attended day care centres were more advanced socially, intellectually and linguistically than their stay-at-home peers. Concluded ClarkeStewart: "What it means is that centre kids have educational and social opportunities that bring out a kind of competence we did not find in the home kids." More recently, a 1984 survey of day care research supported that conclusion. The study, conducted by University of Alberta psychologist Fred Morrison, declared: "The overwhelming conclusion of a decade of psychological research can be summarized simply: children attending good-quality day care are no less securely attached or emotionally secure than are home-reared children."

Unlicensed: The blank spot in that otherwise comforting picture concerns poor-quality day care—and most parents who need child care use unlicensed sitters, either in their own homes or in those of sitters. Those arrangements in a home can be comforting. But they are not subject even to minimal standards and busy parents often do not have time to assess the quality of care their children are receiving. Indeed, one woman who testified anonymously before the Cooke task force last year said: "I hired a student who had taken a child care course offered by the Red Cross. She would leave my daughter alone in the house while she went motorcycling with her friends." Penny Coates, Vancouver spokesman for the British Columbia Day-care Action Coalition, said: "It is just a guess how much poor-quality care is out there. One person told me she had had nine different people looking after her baby, and the child is only a year old. That is just not good enough in an infant's developmental stages."

Fatal: In some extreme cases a wrong choice in child care can be fatal—as an incident last year in an Ontario town chillingly demonstrated. Four young children and their babysitter died in a house fire in Bolton, 30 km northwest of Toronto. A coroner's jury found that the five victims had died accidentally, but evidence presented at the inquest showed that shortly before the fire broke out, the babysitter, 49-year-old Joan Bulpit, had consumed 17 ounces of alcohol along with drugs that had been prescribed for depression.

Still, a provincial licence and its promise of regular inspections is no guarantee of quality child care—either in group centres or private homes. Alberta provides relatively large provincial subsidies of almost $48 million a year. But even so, Christopher Bagley, chairman of the child welfare department at the University of Calgary, argues that the province "probably has some of Canada's worst day care centres." Added Bagley: "Their disorganized and neglectful programming almost certainly does harm to the children they contain." And in Halifax, Kim Kienapple and his wife, Jean, have decided that their baby, due next month, will not attend a centre even though both parents work and support day care in principle. Kienapple is the chairman of the child study department at Mount St. Vincent University, Nova Scotia's only degree-granting program in early childhood education. But, he declared, "I have not seen any evidence of a quality infant day care in town."



Mila and Nicolas Mulroney's crib in the Langevin Block

Despite the evident successes in communities across Canada, the negative assessments are distressingly familiar both to the opponents of day care and its advocates. "Lots of day care is not good," said Friendly. "That happens to be true. But what do you do? Shut them down, or make them better?" Her question is rhetorical, but day care improvement is an issue entangled in jurisdictional and ideological squabbles. For one thing, members of the special parliamentary committee will have to reconcile the need for better day care with the government's drive to restrain federal spending. Still, in a reference to child care, Mulroney himself has stated, "Our battle against the deficit does not, I hope, blind us to some profound societal needs." Indeed, Lucie Pépin, Liberal MP for Outremont and a member of the child care committee, has stated that the committee's position will be "that the children of this country have the right to good child care centres and good child care givers, and that parents should have the choice of different kinds of services."

Activists: Yet one of the most contentious issues facing policymakers will be the fate of commercial day care centres. Nearly 40 per cent of the licensed day care centres across Canada fall into that category, ranging from small mom-and-pop operations to 13 standardized centres operated by Mini Skool Ltd., a division of Montgomery, Ala.-based Kindercare Learning Centres Inc. Alberta has the highest concentration of commercial centres—70 per cent of the province's nearly 600 centres. But many activists for improved day care reject that approach and argue instead for a government-funded child care system limited to public or nonprofit operations. And they say that because day care is highly labor intensive—75 to 90 per cent of a typical centre's budget goes to meet payroll costs—many privately run centres can only turn a profit by using underpaid staff. Declared Cooke, whose report recommends government support: "With a social service such as child care there is no way you can make a profit except at the expense of something else." And Cooke is especially critical of chains of centres that use a standardized approach, terming it "the McDonald hamburger approach" to child care. Said Cooke: "I don't think that is the kind of care we want for our future citizens. Even McDonald's doesn't say it serves gourmet food."

Regulations governing staff qualifications, the size of centres and staff/child ratios vary widely from province to province. Although Ontario and Quebec have recently toughened those regulations, other provinces have not. In Alberta, the single requirement for day care workers is that they must be at least 18 years old. And in Nova Scotia, according to Mount St. Vincent's Kienapple, "As far as the government is concerned, anyone could open a centre if they met health and safety guidelines. You could set the children

in front of a television set all day, and that would be sufficient."

And even in relatively strictly regulated Ontario and Quebec, enforcement of those standards is sporadic. Said Barbara Kaiser, the director of Montreal's Garderie (Day Care) Narnia in Montreal: "I have been operating for five years and I have been inspected twice. The last time the guy just went through the files to make sure there was a kid present for every file. When I asked him if he wanted to look around a bit, he said he wouldn't have to, that as long as there weren't any ashtrays or beer bottles strewn around we were probably a good centre."

Certainly, there is widespread agreement that day care workers are underpaid, with most employees in licensed centres—98 per cent of whom are women—earning on average $14,212 a year except in Atlantic Canada, where the annual average is $9,750. Workers in commercial day care centres are particularly poorly paid, with many earning about 30 per cent less than their counterparts in nonprofit centres.

Ignored: Many of those deficiencies were documented in Cooke's blueprint for improvement, which the federal government ignored. Using the school system as a model, Cooke urged Ottawa to provide funds for a provincially operated day care system open to all children and with no user charges. But that would have cost about $11 billion per year when fully operational, prompting many critics to reject it as a "Cadillac model of day care." Cooke's response: the cost would be significantly offset by the creation of jobs and economic activity. Said Cooke: "We didn't recommend any damned Cadillac because we knew it couldn't be built. We tried very hard to be practical."

The Cooke committee also urged improvements in parental leave. Currently, working mothers are entitled by law to 17 weeks unpaid maternity leave from their jobs. During their time off they are eligible for unemployment insurance benefits worth 60 per cent of their usual wage—to a maximum of $276 per week—for 15 weeks. But the committee's report, which enjoys widespread support from those seeking to improve the current system of child care, recommended gradual improvements culminating in a 26-week leave and benefits worth 95 per cent of wages. And the report suggested that fathers as well should be able to take some portion of the basic leave.

Subsidized: Such benefits are common in some other industrialized countries. France maintains a fully subsidized day care system that is used by 30 per cent of all children under three and almost all children aged three to six. And in Sweden, says U.S. child care expert Sheila Kamerman, "the supply is overwhelmingly inadequate, but the care is splendid." In that country, despite an austerity program, the Social Democratic government has pledged to expand the system to all children who need it.



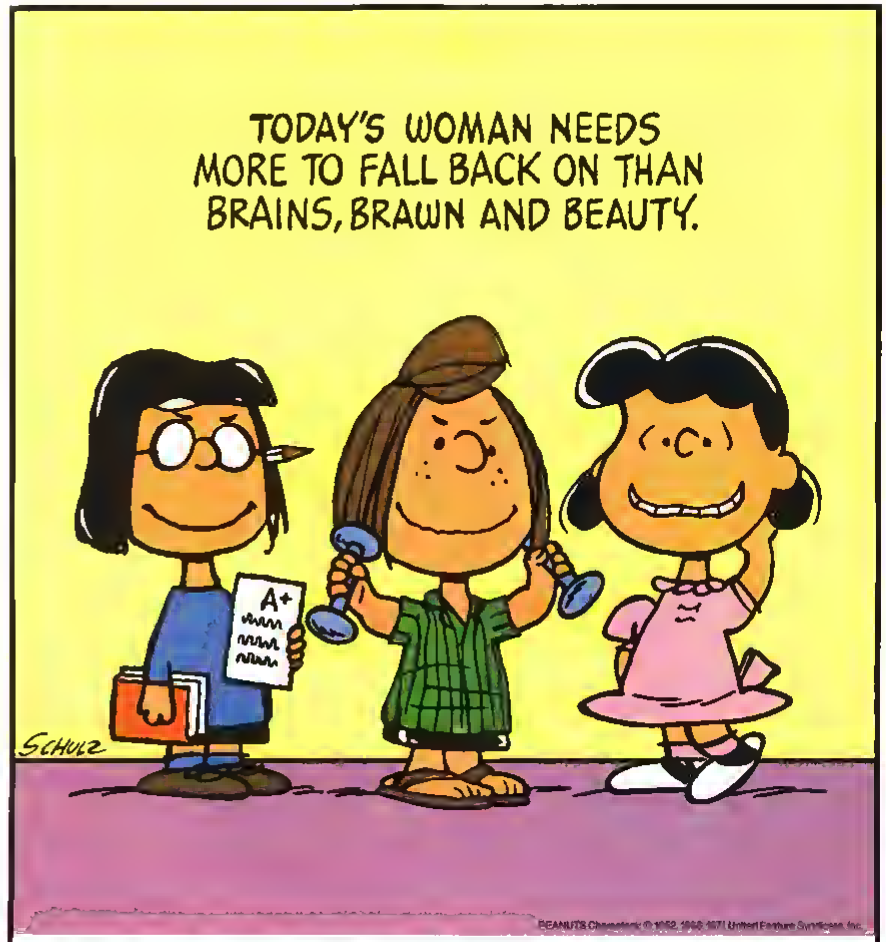
Westlake: tougher rules for day care

Cooke noted in her report that concern for the welfare and development of children was the underlying philosophy of the French and Swedish systems. But she encountered opposition to the creation of similar models in Canada, on the grounds that they would weaken traditional family ties. One opponent is St. Boniface Tory MP Leo Duguay, a member of the parliamentary committee on day care. Duguay told *Maclean's* that comprehensive federal backing for child care would signal that the government does not give any "consideration to staying home and doing it yourself or getting your aunt or uncle or grandmother or somebody to do it." Duguay's views are shared by many Canadians who maintain that child care should be an individual responsibility. Said Laura Henderson, 32, a homemaker from Aylmer, Que., who is raising four children at home: "Why should my husband pay higher taxes for another woman's day care? If she makes a salary she can probably afford it."

Still, even groups advocating traditional methods of child-raising agree that some broader federal child care initiative is necessary. Now, Ottawa spends about $225 million per year on child care—largely through an expense tax deduction of $2,000 per child and subsidies to low-income parents under the Canada Assistance Plan. The average cost of licensed care for a child is $3,500 per year. But the great majority of parents do not even get the tax benefit, because they leave their children with people who do not report their income and who refuse to give receipts. The situation is most difficult for middle-income parents who cannot afford quality care but do not qualify for government assistance. Indeed, a 1983 Ontario study found that 70 per cent of children in licensed care came from low-income families, five per cent from middle-income families and 20 per cent from families earning more than $35,000.

Defects: Those realities have fuelled the demand for government action on child care—and focused attention on the parliamentary committee charged with finding solutions to the national problem. Advocates say that they hope the committee's recommendations next month will go beyond a call for tax credits for parents and address the problem of subsidies at all levels of family income. Cooke, for one, said that tax credits alone would be shortsighted, and added, "We always pay for our ignorance in the long run." In this instance, it is the nation's children who are paying for defects in a system which supposedly serves them.

—JOHN BARBER with MIRO CERNETIG in Vancouver, ASHLEY GEDDES in Calgary, DOUG SMITH in Winnipeg, ANNE STEACY in Toronto, DAVID LORD in Ottawa, LISA VAN DUSEN in Montreal, DEBORAH JONES in Halifax and WILLIAM LOWTHER in Washington



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HIGH COSTS FOR A CAREER

COVER

Leslie Patten has a demanding job as assistant to the head of exhibit design services at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto She also has two small children And for a period of 1½ years beginning in July, 1984, her husband, Claude Faubert, was working in Montreal Rising before 6 each morning, Patten would dress and feed Patrick, then six years old, and Jean-Pascal, her newborn baby, before dropping them off at school and a day care centre respectively "By the time I got the baby settled in day care in the morning," said Patten, 37, "I felt as though I had already put in a half-day's work" But by 9 a m she was at her job at the museum And at 5 p m, after a full day's work, Patten would go through the process with her children in reverse

Struggle: Patten's schedule has improved considerably since Faubert returned to Toronto six months ago and took over some of the responsibilities But thousands of Canadian working mothers face similar struggles to balance a career and a family while paying about $6,000 a year per child for day care While women with children often work by choice, a 1979 study by the National Council of Welfare, an advisory body to the minister of health and welfare, showed that 51 per cent more families would live in poverty without two family incomes But sustaining both a career and a family at times proves so difficult that many working mothers are forced to quit their jobs and stay at home For single mothers, for whom working is impossible without adequate day care, there is frequently no choice but to stay at home.

Dianne Lapierre, a 22-year-old single mother in Calgary, completed a course in radio broadcasting and in October, 1985, got a job as an announcer at CHRB radio in High River, about 50 km away She worked at night and put her three-year-old son, Christopher, into a night care service until she finished her shift But Lapierre often worked past 2 a m, and the agency—irritated by the arrangement—suggested that she look somewhere else for child care Reluctantly, Lapierre took a day job as a courier Bitter about her experience, Lapierre says that she resents having to give up her chosen profession because of an inflexible child care system Said Lapierre "Something needs to be done quickly. It cost me my career."



Chris, Diana Lapierre night care, complaints and bitterness in a new job

Shifts: Another single mother in Calgary, Lorraine Sullivan, voiced similar frustrations Sullivan, 29, works on various shifts from week to week as a computer operator and leaves her three-year-old son, Robert, in another mother's care While Sullivan says that she would prefer care in her own home, she cannot afford it, because the provincial government does not subsidize in-home care Declared Sullivan "People who work shifts should be entitled to the same rights as someone who works 9 to 5"

But in Montreal, at least, that problem is being addressed At the Garderie Eduestive (Day Care) Marie-Anne in the north end of the city, which is open 24 hours a day, eight people look after as many as 60 children between the ages of 18 months and five years for as long as 12 hours Some of the parents who use the centre are single mothers, and rates are $2 an hour, to a maximum of $12 per shift. Said centre director Nicole Clark "The world has changed, and we're merely filling the parents' needs"

Power: Indeed, in 1976, 41 per cent of Canada's mothers of children under 6 held jobs Now, 57 per cent are working Still only a handful of companies offer child care Some advocates of day care say that there might be more workplace facilities if the power to set them up were not concentrated in the hands of male executives And many woman say that men should be playing a bigger role in the care and upbringing of their children Said Pamela Doyle-Easton, supervisor of the Learning Centre at George Brown College in Toronto: "Men are getting better, but there is still a long way to go"

Clearly, many working mothers have discovered that a balance between job and family is difficult to maintain. But for Lynn Wilson it is essential. Wilson, a Toronto teacher, has two of her four children in day care, and she and the children's father have a combined yearly income of about $60,000 Said Wilson "It would be financially smarter for me to stay home, but I'd go stir crazy Here at work, I feel fulfilled" Wilson's sentiment is shared by many working women Declared Patten "I want to work Staying out in the world and having a satisfying career is important to me." But for women like Patten, the costs of maintaining a career and raising children will likely remain high—at least for the foreseeable future.

—DICK BROWN in Toronto with correspondents reports



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BABES IN THE WORKPLACE

COVER

It was a trade-off Campeau Corp, a Toronto-based development company, wanted more square footage for a 68-storey building project than the Toronto city planning department permitted The planning department, which saw a need for more day care centres, proposed a bargain The city gave Campeau permission to increase its space to 1 5 million square feet from one million square feet in its Scotia Plaza tower In return, Campeau agreed to many concessions, including the building of two downtown day care centres—one adjacent to the tower, which will open in 1988, and another in Campeau's nearby Waterpark Place office tower, which opened in September Campeau paid the Waterpark centre's $575,000 construction and furnishing costs and agreed to provide maintenance and rent for 25 years—at an estimated cost of more than $5 million—to its operators, the Early Childhood Education program of the George Brown College of Applied Arts and Technology But while corporate day care centres are a new concept in Canada, developers and employers are beginning to perceive them as a form of good corporate citizenship

Laaaaa: While only a small percentage of private sector employers provide on-site day care services, some of the pioneers in the field are pleased with the results. Lavalin Inc., a Montreal engineering firm, initiated its program in 1981 and the firm now provides services for 60 children It will be opening a new centre for 20 children in rented space in a downtown church near its headquarters, but will still have a waiting list of 20 According to Suzanne Boyd, administrator of the Lavalin day care progeam, the idea originated with some of the firm's mid-level management women Said Boyd "When we first thought of it, only 19 people said they needed the service, but once it started the response was amazing"

But day care is expensive The Lavalin centre costs $300,000 a year to operate The province pays 20 per cent of the cost, Lavalin's 1,400 employees subsidize another 30 per cent through payroll deductions, and the company provides the remaining $150,000 Fees average $240 per month for each child, compared to as much as $420 per month at Montreal community centres At Waterpark Place the monthly fees range from $360 for junior kindergarten to $515 for infants Still, Pamala Doyle-Easton, supervisor of George Brown's day care centre at Waterpark Place, estimates that the college could lose $10,000 in its first year



Doyle-Easton at Waterpark Place living up to a bargain but with 'minimum standards'

Obvious: For developers, one of the chief incentives for building day care centres is to win zoning concessions But for employers the main motivation is to keep workers happy In Winnipeg the 350-employee Western Glove Works Ltd is currently building a new factory with child care facilities Said company president Bob Silver "A good percentage of our employees are women Building an on-site day care centre seemed like an obvious thing to do"

The industrial complex of auto-parts giant Magna International Inc. in Newmarket, Ont., includes five plants and a head office, an employee recreation centre, a trade school and the 9,000-square-foot Newpark Day Care Centre. The centre, in operation since July, now has 47 children and is licensed for 98 Magna paid the centre's $1-million start-up costs with the assistance of a $55,000 grant from the Ontario government. Parents pay an average of $200 per month per child—about half the cost—and Magna pays the rest Said centre director Wendy Campbell "It's nice for parents to know their children are close by It gives people a real sense of security"

Benefits: The benefits of corporate day care are impressive Parents can visit their children on breaks and can respond quickly in the event of an emergency As well, day care helps companies to reduce absenteeism and turnover Still, only large corporations have the resources to provide such facilities Despite the limitations, on-site day care may be a partial solution to the problem of caring for the children of working parents But Doyle-Easton points out that Campeau's decision to build the centre was not an act of generosity "We have exactly the space that the law specifies. These are minimum standards But Campeau has lived up to its part of the bargain," said Doyle-Easton Still, she added, "it would be nice to have employers see the benefits of day care and provide centres of their own volition." Clearly, corporate day care is still in its formative years.

—PAMELA YOUNG with ANNE STEACY in Toronto



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WANTED: MARY POPPINS

COVER

Mary Poppins, a fictional character popularized by a 1964 Walt Disney Productions film, is probably the most enduring image of the ideal nanny. Armed with a feather duster, a cheerful disposition and a suitcase full of children's toys, she represents all the fun, effectiveness and even the serenity of the perfect mother's helper. But the fantasy falls far short of reality for many working parents seeking someone to live in their home and help them raise their children—at least 15,000 across Canada. Declared Janet Sherwood, the director of Classic Personnel Ltd., a Vancouver-based nanny service with offices in eight Canadian cities: "If I have a good nanny today, I also have five or six families to send her to. Some people have to wait two or three months for help."

For parents, live-in help eliminates the daily rush to deliver and pick up their children at day care centres and schools. And for those who can afford it, a monthly salary of approximately $800 is a reasonable price to pay for a tidy house and supervised children. But hiring a nanny in Canada is difficult. For one thing, most Canadians are not interested in a job which leaves them with about $125 per week after taxes and deductions for room and board. As a result, when would-be employers fail to find help from newspaper advertisements or word-of-mouth, many turn to professional placement services, which normally charge about $600 for locating a domestic helper from such countries as Britain, Jamaica and the Philippines.

Abuses: Having hired a nanny, many employers find that their problems multiply. Nannies—most of whom are women in their early 20s—often insist on limiting their work to caring for the children and prove reluctant to perform even light household chores. Some nannies find it too difficult to adjust to a new country and return home within months. And those who stay complain about lack of job security and privacy, low wages and other abuses. parents who sometimes extend their employees' working hours by arriving home late from work or who expect their nannies to work seven days a week. Declared Susan Maynard, who operates a small nanny-finding service from her Toronto home: "A lot of families treat their staff appallingly."

In fact, most Canadians even incorrectly use the word "nanny" as the term for anyone who lives in the home of her employer and helps out with domestic chores. Traditionally, a nanny is a graduate of a recognized course such as Britain's two-year Nursery Nurses Education Board. Those programs train students specifically to take care of children, and graduates expect to find employers willing to hire them for that alone. Said 33-year-old Celia Tracy, who came to Canada as a domestic helper 11 years ago and is now a partner in a Toronto-based company that recruits other domestics: "A trained nanny usually will not pick up a cup. They just don't do housework."



Classic Personnel nanny Debbie Greenop: live-in help eliminates the daily rush to pick up children at day care centres

Most of the so-called nannies in Canada are women who arrive under the Foreign Domestic Movement, a program which the federal government initiated in 1981 in an attempt to fill the need for home child care. Successful applicants, who must be in good health and have some domestic skills, gain landed-immigrant status—provided they agree to work only as live-in domestic help for two years. And under terms set out by Canadian Employment and Immigration authorities, families sponsoring a nanny must furnish their employee with a private bedroom—although many provide televisions, telephones, private bathrooms and separate entrances as well. Nannies usually earn the provincial minimum wage. In Ontario that means they receive $827 per month before taxes and a $238 deduction for room and board. In return, they are expected to work 50 hours each week with overtime pay at regular wages for extra work. "That's pretty good money," said Tracy. "Not a lot of people who work in offices have $150 left over at the end of every week."

Hardar: Still, even experienced nannies who can command higher salaries say that they work harder than most employees because they live with their employers. Said Sally Cretney, 23, who came to Canada from England four years ago and has lived with five families in the Toronto area: "You never really leave work if you live in. It's very easy for them to ask you to do something extra and it's very difficult to say no." Erika Gosson, 24, emigrated from West Germany more than two years ago and lived with three families in Toronto while working as a nanny. Gosson is currently looking after two children under the age of seven, but she now shares an apartment with her boyfriend. She says that it is difficult to save money, but by living out, she added, her workload has been reduced considerably. Said Gosson: "If you're living in, you can close your bedroom door, but you're still on duty."

In some instances, according to commercial placement officials, domestic helpers have hesitated to demand better working conditions because they are uncertain about their rights in a new country. "These girls are terrified of rocking the boat," said Maynard. Added Margot Davis, 33, a Montreal nanny who came to Canada from Britain 11 years ago: "I have Canadian citizenship now, but up until then things weren't easy. Some people at Immigration want you to know that if they don't like the way you look, you'll be on the next plane."

Demand: At the same time, the steady demand for child-care workers provides a source of employment to women who have entered the country illegally. Some employers overlook the fact that their children's new nanny may be an illegal immigrant, but Davis notes that women in this position are most vulnerable to abuse. Said Davis: "The girls who are here illegally get paid virtually nothing and their employers can threaten to turn them in if they don't do as they say." Added Maynard: "When girls call me seeking work, I tell them to come and visit—and to bring their passport. Many never show up for the interview."



Sherwood: 'people have to wait two or three months'

Many families say that there is a period of adjustment between employer and domestic and that after a few weeks both parties usually know whether there is a problem. And such veteran employers as Fran Greenbaum, a 39-year-old Toronto market researcher, say that trade-offs are common as parents realize that a nanny who is affectionate and attentive to their children's needs might also be an indifferent housekeeper and a dreadful cook. Declared Greenbaum, who has hired four nannies during the past 3½ years to look after her two sons, Matthew, 3, and David, 2: "It's like getting married again and again and again. The entire process requires a lot of diplomacy." Another mother, Susan Stoyanovich, a 36-year-old public relations consultant and mother of two boys, aged 9 and 6, complained: "You're never truly alone and they usually don't stay very long. That affects the children's relationship and it takes a while for them to become accustomed to someone new."

Leap: For employers who use an agency to find a nanny abroad, selecting a suitable candidate is often a leap of faith based largely on a résumé, a photograph, a few letters and the agency's preliminary screening work. Sometimes the match does not take, and most agencies guarantee that they will find a replacement during the first three months of the yearlong contract. And they advise employers to make the switch as quickly as possible if the arrangement is failing. But Hana Havlicek, president of Selective Personnel in Toronto, one of the largest agencies in the country, says that such failures are relatively rare. According to Havlicek, 12 per cent of the 800 women she places each year have to be replaced—at their or their employers' request. Said Havlicek: "The girls don't change unless the situation is really bad. They are very anxious to make it work."

Certainly, use of live-in nannies is increasing in Canada. Last year alone, Employment and Immigration Canada officials issued work permits to 5,021 domestics, bringing the number of legal domestics in this country to 14,258. And Employment and Immigration officials predict that the need for imported nannies will not abate as long as Canadians remain unenthusiastic about taking such a job. As a result, the successors to Mary Poppins may soon exercise that bargaining tool to obtain higher wages and better working conditions.

—PAUL BERTON with MIRO CERNETIG in Vancouver, ASHLEY GEDDES in Calgary and LISA VAN DUSEN in Montreal

Celebration in New York

Tons of computer paper rained down on the World Series champion New York Mets last week A blizzard of shredded Wall Street printouts—replacing the traditional ticker tape—spewed from office windows as more than two million fans lined the streets of Manhattan for a parade saluting their heroes For the Mets, a computer-age franchise born in 1962, it was the second Series triumph and no less sweet than their first victory in 1969 But for the Boston Red Sox, born in the horse-and-buggy era in 1901, it was the fourth Series loss since 1918, the year they won their last world championship The largest U S television audience ever for a World Series game watched the Mets win the final 8-5 and baseball's championship four games to three But the Series was actually decided in the late-night chill of game 6, when the Red Sox squandered a two-run lead in the 10th inning Said Boston second baseman Marty Barrett: "We lost it. We didn't make them earn it."

Few of baseball's 82 previous Series held more promise than this one—the first meeting between teams from New York and Boston since 1912 The Mets, leading baseball in bravado, high-five handshakes and self-congratulation, also arrived with the season's best record (108-54) The Sox arrived with Roger Clemens, at 24 wins and four losses the game's best pitcher in 1986. It was heralded as the brash Mets versus the veteran Sox, in a fall classic shuttling between raucous Shea Stadium and quaint Fenway Park. Instead, it became a Series of the unexpected and, often, the inexplicable New York barely managed to escape defeat, and Boston—the weight of history on their shoulders—found new ways to avoid winning. Said Sox right fielder Dwight Evans: "Everything is kind of weird in baseball these days."

The first indication that the 1986 edition would be anything but classic came in game 1, which Boston won 1-0 courtesy of a wild pitch and an error Then followed game 2's long-awaited pitching matchup between the hard-throwing Clemens and New York's brilliant fastballer, Dwight Gooden, the best pitcher in baseball in 1985 But instead of a taut pitchers' duel, it was a hitters' showcase Pounding out 18 hits, Boston won 9-3 and returned to Fenway two games up, knowing that only one team—the 1985 Kansas City Royals—had ever lost the first two games at home and come back to win the Series

But in Boston, the Mets quickly tied the Series, winning games 3 and 4 The Sox rebounded to win game 5 by a score of 4-2, and the stage was set for the return to Shea Stadium—and the Gong Show of game 6 Ignominy is no stranger to Red Sox teams Other Boston clubs have lost important games in bizarre ways But in the long chronicle of Sox defeat, the open wound of the sixth game has few rivals Twice, Boston was one strike away from winning the world title.

Many Sox fans say that the team has operated under a curse since 1920, when then-owner Harry Frazee committed the blasphemous sin of selling Babe Ruth to the Yankees But the 1986 collapse may have had more to do with Sox manager John McNamara's lack of intervention Leading 3-2 in the eighth inning, Boston had the bases loaded with two out The left-handed Bill Buckner was scheduled to bat against New York's left-handed pitcher Jesse Orosco—a situation in which most managers, favoring the percentages, would automatically pinch-hit a right-handed hitter McNamara chose not to, Buckner flied out and Boston left three runners stranded Then, having ignored one of baseball's cardinal rules, McNamara unaccountably decided to leave Buckner—hobbled by ankle and knee injuries and a pulled Achilles tendon—in the game at first base. Said Dave Stapleton, Buckner's defensive replacement in all of the Sox postseason victories: "I figured I'd go in this time too. I thought it would make sense."

With Stapleton on the bench, the Mets tied the score in the eighth inning But the Sox went ahead 5-3 in the top half of the 10th, quickly retired the first two Mets in the bottom and were poised for their first world championship in 68 years Two Mets hits later, Boston was still only one strike away from winning when Ray Knight, the Series' most valuable player, singled in a run. Then, with Mookie Wilson at the plate and the Sox again one strike away from victory, Bob Stanley threw a wild pitch, scoring Kevin Mitchell from third base, and the game was tied. Three pitches later, Wilson hit a slow-moving ground ball that rolled between the limping Buckner's legs for an error, scoring New York's winning run.

The Mets came back from a three-run deficit to win game 7 but the Series had already been lost between Buckner's bandaged ankles Said Mets manager Davey Johnson "We were the best team We deserved to win." For baseball's historians and second-guessers, that assessment and the bizarre events of the 83rd Series will provide ample grist for contemplation—at least until the first pitch of the 1987 season next April

—HAL QUINN with correspondents' reports



Mets' Ray Knight, the unlikely MVP

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The fact that brunette **Tina May Simpson** had been crowned the 40th Miss Canada was not publicized for a day after the beauty pageant telecast was pre-empted by the final game of the World Series. Still, the 23-year-old nursing graduate from St. Catharines, Ont., said that she was "relieved that people could watch the show the next day without worrying about baseball." Simpson says that her mother urged her to enter a local contest that ultimately led to the national pageant. But she added that it was her father who was the more ecstatic after the judges chose her over 43 other candidates. Said Simpson: "He jumped about 10 feet and started hugging everyone around him."



Simpson, runner Fonyo (below): pre-empted and on hold

Six years ago, U.S. First Lady **Nancy Reagan** says, advisers opposed her idea of an antidrug campaign because it was a "downer." Reagan, who last week promoted her crusade during a half-hour appearance on comedian **Joan Rivers**'s television talk show, said that her work has exposed her to such "incredible" situations as talking to an eight-year-old "who is not only a user, but a pusher." Reagan, 65, admitted that her children probably tried marijuana, adding that she was "lucky" that they did not develop a drug problem—"the most democratic problem of all."



Runner **Steve Fonyo** suspended his across-Britain run last week to return to Vernon, B.C., where his father, Steve Sr., 58, is suffering from inoperable lung cancer. Fonyo, 21, who lost his leg to cancer at age 12, started his run in Edinburgh, Scotland, last month and had just crossed into England when he learned that his father's condition had deteriorated. The runner, who collected $10.5 million for cancer research on his cross-Canada run, says that he plans to return to Britain in February. Declared Fonyo: "I've promised my father I'll complete the run, and I'll keep that promise."

Toronto scientist and nun Sister **Rosalie Bertell,** who recently won a Right Livelihood Award—known as the "alternative" Nobel Prize—says that the award is better known in the Third World than in Canada. Bertell, 57, who was honored for promoting environmental health by opposing the use of nuclear power, said that "to win a Nobel Prize in science takes money and a well-equipped laboratory—something Third World countries don't have." Bertell travels to Stockholm next month to accept the $34,500 award from the Swedish-based Right Livelihood Foundation, which addresses issues that do not fall into the Nobel framework. Said Bertell, who is research director at the Toronto-based International Institute of Concern for Public Health: "The award is appreciated, but it doesn't buy you very much these days."

Canadian author **W.P. Kinsella** has two literary obsessions—baseball and North American Indians. Kinsella combines both passions in *The Fencepost Chronicles*, a just-released collection of humorous stories. In one of the tales, a band of Indians manages a bankrupt ball team. Kinsella, 51, who lives in British Columbia, says that the story was inspired by a news item about the Ermineskin Reserve in central Alberta buying a hockey team. Said Kinsella: "In spite of the fact that I portray the Indians as poor, they have more money than they know what to do with on that reserve."

Fourteen months ago best-selling novelist and former MP **Jeffrey Archer** was hired to improve the image of the British Conservative party. Last week he resigned after admitting that he had paid off a prostitute, although he denied having met her. The 46-year-old author/politician, whose *A Matter of Honour* ranks fifth on *Maclean's* best-seller list, said that he had fallen into "a trap." Among Archer's defenders is Conservative MP **Psiar Bruinvels**, who has demanded a Scotland Yard investigation. Although sexual scandals are nothing new for the British Tories, Bruinvels declared: "As a party we don't deal with prostitutes. We are known as the party of the family and we are a party of the highest morals."

—Edited by YVONNE COX



Archer: 'party of the highest morals'

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Turismo de México

Parachute's high-flying success

It's an offer few clothing designers would even consider refusing But last spring Montreal's Harry Parnass balked when an Academy Award-winning costume designer asked him to outfit the stars of NBC TV's hit show *Miami Vice* Indeed, the co-founder of the Parachute line of clothing told Los Angeles-based Milena Canonero that prime-time exposure might lower the exclusive appeal of his designs to such celebrities as film stars Meryl Streep and Jane Fonda But after consideration, Parnass presented the Parachute inventory to *Miami Vice*'s wardrobe buyers And now clothes worn by actors Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas—including loose-fitting charcoal suits and ankle-length white duster coats—have become an integral part of the show's hip image But the designer, who prefers to be vague about his age, is clearly aware of the risks of mass exposure Said Parnass "Every one of our customers feels they discovered us, and we want to keep it that way Our image is very underground"

Parnass and Nicola Pelly—his 38-year-old partner in design and the mother of their two-year-old daughter, Talia—have clearly attained international status For one thing, more than 200 independent retailers in Europe, Australia, the United States and Canada now carry their merchandise Retail sales of Parachute merchandise reached $26 million in 1985 alone And although Parachute's sales volume ranks far below such billion-dollar retail enterprises as New York-based Calvin Klein Industries, Parnass says that he prefers to gauge his success by recognition from others in the fashion industry, customer satisfaction and visibility Indeed, he clothes such high-profile entertainers as singers Mick Jagger, Stevie Wonder and Michael Jackson and actors Robin Williams, Dustin Hoffman and Cher



Parachute styles, Parnass and Pelly (below) celebrity dressing, trendsetting silhouettes and international acclaim



Parachute established its reputation with well-designed and eye-catching clothes Its current fall lineup, based on Russian military themes, emphasizes stand-up collars and closely fitted jackets The fabrics include cotton, viscose and wool crepe The designers color their creations in sombre hues that have almost become a trademark—among them grey and mocha brown enlivened by occasional splashes of red and cobalt blue Declared

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Pelly. "Over the seasons it has tended to be the silhouette of our cuts that has defined the Parachute look. We use a lot of fabric. It makes a more dramatic statement." Added Parnass: "We have a way of feeling certain trends before they happen. Our biggest problem is that sometimes we are too far advanced." Their clothing is not cheap—a pair of men's winter pants can cost as much as $200. Still, the most expensive item currently in the Montreal store is a broad-shouldered black coat made of heavy wool which sells for $620.

Parnass, a native of New York City, has graduate degrees in architecture and urban design, and British-born Pelly is a fashion scholar and fabrics expert. In November, 1977, less than a year after they met, the two launched their first clothing line. By the summer of 1978 their reputation for producing hot new designs had reached Los Angeles and New York City, prompting clothes-conscious Americans to undertake buying trips across the border to their Montreal design studio. Recalling Parachute's early days, Iona Monahan, fashion editor of *The Gazette* in Montreal, said: "People figured they were renegades who would be out of business in a month. But they have turned out to be fabulous leaders here."

Still, Canadian demand for Parachute's clothing has been light. Indeed, Parnass and Pelly have never operated outlets anywhere but Montreal and Toronto. The significant breakthrough for their clothing line occurred when the couple opened their first New York City store in April, 1980, offering clothes that featured padded shoulders, funnel collars and asymmetrical zippers. Recalled John Duka, a former fashion reporter for *The New York Times*: "It fitted exactly what was happening in fashion at the time. When they first came here they had the trendiest store in New York."

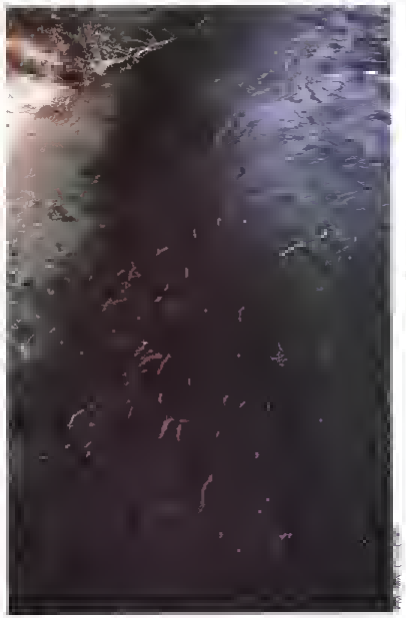
Despite international acclaim, the company's headquarters remain firmly rooted in Montreal. The partners live and work together in a rambling, century-old Westmount house, designing at least five fashion lines each year. And they dismiss criticism that Parachute wear has become too commercial and no longer determines trends. In response, Parnass points to such innovations as last year's all-black line of baby wear—the first in the world, according to the designer. And with their clothes appearing weekly on one of television's most popular series, Parnass and Pelly may become as widely known as some of their famous clients.

—DAN BURKE in Montreal

WILDLIFE

Spectacle of the sockeye

It happens every four years, an enthralling natural spectacle that scientists cannot fully explain. Three weeks ago more than two million sockeye salmon left the Pacific Ocean and began their arduous 330-mile odyssey upstream to spawn in the gravel beds of the Adams River in south-central British Columbia. During the 18-day journey the fish stop eating. As well, their bodies change color from silver to a brilliant scarlet, and their heads become dark green. At the spawning grounds, the females lay eggs which are fertilized by courting males. Then, within hours, the mature salmon die. This year about 225,000 tourists and nature lovers gathered by the Adams from as far away as Europe and Japan to witness the salmon run. "This is the biggest wildlife event in North America," said Christopher Harris, a senior naturalist for British Columbia's provincial parks. "It is like a good movie—it has sex, violence, color and big numbers."



An odyssey with 'sex, violence, color and big numbers'

The Adams salmon run is the largest phenomenon of its type in the world. This year's has involved the most salmon since 1958, when an estimated four million fish returned to the spawning grounds. Naturalists predict that the current spawning could produce one billion sockeye offspring, known as fry. But over the next four years, less than one per cent of them will survive natural predators and commercial fishermen to undertake the river run themselves.

While the salmon ran and the spawning took place, tourists strolled quietly along banks of the river, many of them awestruck. Said Rusty Welshon, 29, of Boulder, Colo., who travelled 3,000 km by car to see the sockeye: "The whole life cycle is just spread out there before your eyes. It's incredible."

Although it remains largely a mystery how—and why—salmon return to their spawning grounds, there is evidence that a keen sense of smell helps them find the place where they were born. In any event, once they locate the upper reaches of the Adams River they are in an excellent spawning ground, with pure water from icy streams, little sediment and fine gravel beds to receive the eggs. Indeed, the federal fisheries officials and BC park agents are committed to preserving the habitat, which is 75 km east of Kamloops. In recent years the province has purchased private land holdings along the river to prevent unwelcome development. Said Harris: "We got this area put aside in the late 1970s, when there was talk of putting in a subdivision. The land base is now protected, but there are still things like river pollution that can affect the stocks." Still, he says that he is confident that some of this year's fry will return in four years. And once again thousands of onlookers will gather for a life-and-death drama of a species reproducing itself.

—JANE O'HARA in Adams River

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RELIGION

Prayers for peace

A chill wind whipped the dark rain clouds overhead as Pope John Paul II led a historic procession last week through the cobbled streets of Assisi, Italy, the 12th-century birthplace of a Roman Catholic saint known as St. Francis the Peacemaker. Behind the white-robed pontiff walked 65 leading figures from the world's major religions—guests of the Vatican for the World Day of Prayer for Peace. Among those attending the special gathering were the exiled Tibetan Buddhist leader, the Dalai Lama, Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, who heads the Church of England, the chief rabbi of Rome, Elio Toaff, and the Sisters of Loretto's Mother Teresa of Calcutta. And they were joined by African and Sikh holy men, Moslem mullahs, Japanese Shinto priests and American Indian chiefs. As they gathered to pray for an end to conflict around the world, the Pope delivered his central message to the 20,000 pilgrims and 24,000 residents crowding the narrow streets of the central Italian town in the Umbrian hills: mankind must choose between a genuine search for peace and catastrophic war.

But the day of prayer in Assisi failed to attain the chief goal—a 24-hour global truce at a time when there are no fewer than 30 conflicts raging. In Northern Ireland, members of the predominantly Roman Catholic Irish Republican Army planted a bomb that derailed a freight train. And fighting continued in the bloody six-year Iran-Iraq border war as well as between warring factions in both Lebanon and Sri Lanka. Yet despite that unrestrained violence, guerrilla fighters and government troops in at least 11 nations—including Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile and Angola—honored their pledges to uphold the one-day ceasefire. That success, said the Pope, was "a first significant result of the spiritual efficacy of prayer."

Certainly, organizing the Assisi gathering was a daunting exercise in logistics—and global diplomacy. Shortly after the Pope first announced his plans for the day of prayer last Jan. 25, Vatican officials had to assure the representatives of other religions that their presence in Assisi would not signify subordination to the Pope. To that end, they asked the leaders of different religious groups to offer individual prayers for peace in the piazza outside the towering Basilica of St. Francis. And the Pope used the phrase "being together to pray" to describe the solemn separate ceremonies of each participating religion. Declared the pontiff: "The fact that we are here does not imply any intention of seeking a religious consensus among ourselves."

It was a day marked by careful statements and gestures. The 51-year-old Dalai Lama placed a small statue of Buddha atop a Christian altar, symbolizing, observers said, that the challenge of peace transcended religious differences. And although the World Day of Prayer for Peace failed to silence all the world's weapons, many participants jubilantly concluded that it had at least focused international attention on the urgent issue of peace.

—SARI GILBERT in Assisi



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Financial blows for foreign students

Mandip Singh arrived in Canada on a pharmacy scholarship two years ago, after leaving his home in the northern Indian city of Chandigarh Since then he has earned a master's degree and international honors for his work in cancer research In September Singh, 27, was admitted to the PhD program at Dalhousie University in Halifax But his scholarship has expired, and because he is a foreign student he faces paying fees of $3,500—twice as high as those for Canadian students He cannot legally work to support himself because he is in the country on a student visa He currently lives in a local Sikh temple but has no bed, desk or chair Said Singh "I'm stuck It makes me scared. How will I manage?" For Singh and most of the 29,000 other students from 176 countries currently enrolled in Canadian universities, the cost of a Canadian education has risen sharply

Canada is one of five Western countries—including Australia and Belgium—in which postsecondary institutions charge higher fees to nonresidents. Since Alberta and Ontario introduced legislation in 1976 permitting differential fees, eight provinces have increased foreign students' tuition In the case of undergraduate arts programs in Quebec, it is, on average, 10 times the rate for Canadians And the universities, which are suffering from insufficient funding, cannot afford to forgo that source of revenue

At the same time, two studies released this fall conclude that Canada's approach to foreign students is self-defeating According to a report by the Ottawa-based Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), the number of international students attending Canadian universities and community colleges dropped by 23 per cent between 1983 and 1985. As well, University of Windsor economist Reuben Green showed in a survey that foreign students benefit Canada financially Green reported that despite differential fees, every province except Ontario and Quebec—where fees are the highest—"finances a significant proportion of the cost of foreign-student education" But while universities must spend about $5,200 per year to provide classrooms, libraries, recreational buildings and teachers for each new student, Green said that foreign students spent about $9,000 each during the 1984-1985 school year—a $400-million contribution to the national economy Indeed, in 1979 a steep rise in differential fees charged at British universities sparked strong criticism from abroad The result British government officials eventually concluded that any savings obtained through differential fees were more than offset by long-term damage to diplomatic and trade relations And in 1983 they introduced such reforms as scholarship programs and fee exemptions for certain students under foreign-aid agreements In the United States, by contrast, government-funded state universities have implemented a two-tiered fee schedule—for in-state and other students—and the difference between them is substantial



RAY GIGUERE

Allan 'Canadians are being cheated. We need to be exposed to as many cultures as possible'

But some observers say that the benefits of easy access for foreign students should not be measured in economic terms In a 1985 report the North-South Institute, an Ottawa-based research organization, stated that educating students from developing countries is an efficient way to spend foreign-aid money while providing Canada with a rich new source of cultural, academic and political talent Said Wilfred Allan, a foreign-student adviser at the University of Alberta "Canadian students are being cheated. We need to be exposed to as many different cultures as possible."

Still, most policymakers say that it is too late to roll back tuition fees According to James Fox, a CBIE director, the issue has fallen into a jurisdictional limbo But he declared, "There is almost total agreement among university presidents, ministers of education, cabinet ministers and the Prime Minister himself that international students are a real benefit" For his part, Allan blames the crisis on public ignorance, adding, "Some people presume that the typical foreign student is an 18-year-old from Hong Kong driving a Trans-Am" But in reality, he said, most international students must live on little more than a subsistence allowance And because of the high cost of tuition in Canada, such exceptional students as Mandip Singh may be forced to look elsewhere for their higher education

—SHARON DOYLE DRIEDGER in Toronto

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BEHAVIOR

In Spanglish Harlem

On a subway train clattering through Spanish Harlem on Manhattan's Upper East Side, two Hispanic college students contend that New York is a bilingual city. They cite as evidence a notice on the wall near by: *"La via del tren subterráneo es peligrosa."* Juans translates: "The subway tracks are dangerous." Then Diego points to an ad poster featuring a smiling Armando Vargas, who praises a trestment for *"las hemorroides."* A bag lady shouting to herself was, they say, *"friqueandose,* freaking out." But the second language of New York's subway—and the language of many of the 18 million Latinos in the United States—is not traditional Spanish. Linguists call it "Spanglish," because it is a hybrid of the country's two most common languages.

To many Americans, the spread of Spanglish reflects a failure to integrate vast numbers of Hispanics, who by the year 2000 are expected to replace blacks as the country's largest minority. According to sociologists, in New York alone there are 400,000 Hispanics who have trouble speaking even basic English. Evido de la Cruz, a reporter with New York's Spanish daily *El Diario,* says that among many Hispanics there is resistance to speaking English. "They do speak English," he said, "but at the same time they are evolving their native language."

Many Latinos in the United States speak Spanglish, a hybrid of the country's two most common languages

Indeed, it is possible to live in sections of New York, Miami or Los Angeles without speaking a word of English. The Spanglish of the one million Puerto Ricans who live in New York City, mainly in the South Bronx, East Harlem and Williamsburg—where people say *"Oye Bro"* (Hey, brother)—is vastly different from that spoken by exiled Cubans in Florida, Dominicans around Boston or the so-called Tex-Mex spoken by Mexican farm workers in the southwest. But what they all have in common is English syntax and a midsentence switching of languages. In the Texas border town of Del Rio, a shopper looking for a product asks, *"Donde ésta el thin-sliced bread?"* The clerk replies, *"Ésta in aisle three, sobre el second shelf, en el wrapper rojo."* (It is in aisle three, on the second shelf, in the red wrapper.)

The growth of the Spanish-speaking population has become a political issue in several states, prompting the emergence of movements to establish English as the official language. But such actions are shortsighted, said Angelo Falcon, president of the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy. He said that the use of Spanglish is spreading because there are not enough English classes and bilingual services for Hispanics. Said Falcon: "They say Latins want to create another Quebec in this country, that we want to separate. But we don't have the power to do anything together." Added Falcon: "What we do believe is that it is possible to be both—Latin and American." It is certainly possible to speak both—sometimes in the same breath.

—LARRY GLACK in New York



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The secret behind Canada's spy school

CAMP X: CANADA'S SCHOOL FOR SECRET AGENTS, 1941-45
By David Stafford
(Lester & Orpen Dennys, 327 pages, $22.95)

A solid and in many ways admirable piece of work, *Camp X* is a credit to author David Stafford. Alas, it will probably not add much credit to his royalty statements, which seems unfair—the book's commercial weaknesses have more to do with the tale than the telling. If even half the legends about Camp X had proved true, the story of the secret school for fledgling agents, which the British built near Whitby, Ont., in 1941, might have been an international best-seller. But, according to this well-researched account by Stafford, executive director of the Toronto-based Canadian Institute of International Affairs, most of the legends have no basis in fact. Referring to the facility's vaunted role as a vital weapon in the Allies' secret arsenal, the author writes, "Camp X was more symbol than substance."

Stafford establishes that the British, with Canadian government co-operation, opened the centre to secretly train U.S. agents before the United States joined the war. After Washington did so in December, 1941, Camp X churned out Canadian and British operatives. During its two-year life, it graduated 500 secret agents, fewer than half of whom proceeded to higher education at more sophisticated facilities run by British Intelligence, and then to missions behind enemy lines.

But Stafford rejects as preposterous the widely published suggestions that wartime Whitby was at the very epicentre of the clandestine struggle against Nazi Germany. This will come as no surprise to residents of Whitby. But it must have disappointed Stafford's Canadian publishers, Malcolm Lester and Louise Dennys. Partly as a result of the author's own research, the book appears not as a blockbuster, but as a parenthetical insert in a footnote to the history of a Second World War sideshow. Writes Stafford: "The reality is that Camp X played a modest but intriguing part in the story of American-British-Canadian co-operation during the Second World War."

According to previously published accounts, the story had more sensational ingredients. It promised to shed new light on the origins of the CIA, which grew out of the Office of Strategic Services, the intelligence agency that had backed the creation of the camp. The tale seemed certain to offer fresh insights into how Britain entangled senior U.S. officials in the Allied cause before the United States entered the war. And it appeared likely to provide starring roles for such best-selling names as Canadian wartime intelligence leader Sir William Stephenson and Britain's Ian Fleming, creator of superspy James Bond.

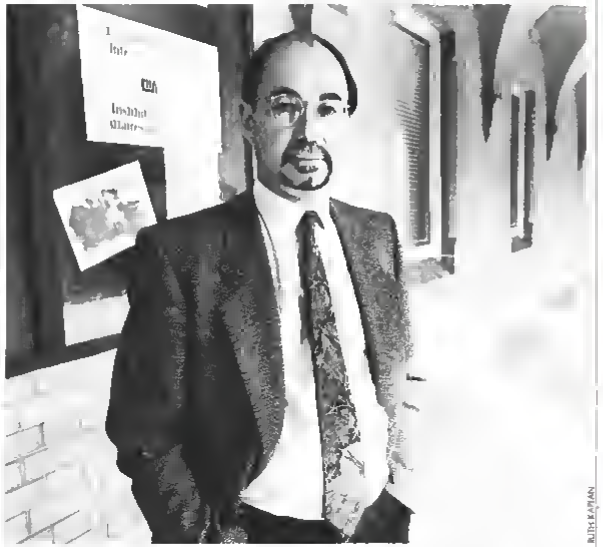
Some published accounts have suggested that Fleming, a commander in British Naval Intelligence, was trained at Whitby—details of which Stafford could find no trace. Nor could he substantiate the repeated myth that several of Bond's exploits were based on experiences Fleming underwent beside and beneath the waters of Lake Ontario—or that the Whitby facility trained the two Czech agents who assassinated prominent Nazi Reinhard Heydrich in a 1942 grenade attack in Prague.

Debunking such legends, Stafford is scathingly critical of other authors who have made Camp X "a cipher for grandiose fantasies about spy masters and secret agents." In particular, he cites Fleming's biographer, British author John Pearson, and Canadian journalist William Stevenson, author of *A Man Called Intrepid*, as promulgators of the Camp X myth. Stafford is harshest in his criticism of Stevenson's best-selling but controversial *Intrepid*, dismissing it as "an immoderate hagiography" that oversteted Stephenson's importence and inflated Camp X's significance.

Of Stephenson, Stafford declares: "He was far from being the intimate confidant and purveyor of top-secret intelligence for [British Prime Minister Winston] Churchill and [U.S. President Franklin] Roosevelt that the Intrepid myth had painted."

Mythology aside, there *was* a spy school at Whitby. It was a secret installation, it did train Americans before the United States entered the war and, although its achievements, in Stafford's phrase, "were inevitably modest," its history as the author records it is fascinating, even if it falls short of blockbuster stetus.

—ROBERT MILLER



RUTH KAPLAN

Stafford rumors of James Bond, Nazi assassinations and a man called Intrepid

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A prisoner of honor

LETTERS FROM PRISON AND OTHER ESSAYS
By Adam Michnik
Translated By Maya Latynski
(University of California Press, 354 pages, $35.00)

On Aug. 11, 1986, Polish authorities released Adam Michnik, a highly respected leader of Poland's Solidarity movement, from Barczewo Prison. He had been jailed for three years on charges of plotting to overthrow the government. But prison provided Michnik with something the authorities had not counted on: the time to think and write. The result, translated for the first time into English, is *Letters From Prison*, a moving, clear-sighted book that may well become a classic of its kind.

The book, a series of essays addressing the moral issues behind the Solidarity movement within the context of Poland's turbulent history, is a remarkable document. Michnik's broad humanity, his understanding and tolerance of human weakness and his rational, unsentimental insistence on moral principle and nonviolence reach beyond prison bars and borders to touch a universal chord.

In the essay "Why You Are Not Emigrating," written in response to a government offer to allow interned dissidents to leave Poland, Michnik attacks the proposal as an attempt to destroy the Solidarity movement. And he criticizes those who accepted it for capitulating and deserting. It is essential, he argues, to remember that supporters have placed their trust in Solidarity's leaders and that those loyal members of the rank and file may have put themselves in danger to organize a defence. "When you remember them," he writes, "you will easily understand that politics here is inseparably linked with morality and that political choice is inseparably linked with a moral choice." But typically, the essay also contains a defence of other periods of emigration in Poland's history, as well as a gentle discussion of human frailty. And his tone is never moralistic. "It is not courage that makes me choose prison instead of banishment. If anything, I am making this choice out of fear. Out of the fear that by saving my neck I may lose my honor."

For Poland to live with the Soviet Union is like living with the threat of nuclear war: one false step and all is lost

He accepts the premise that social change is possible but that it has limits in the real world. And it is with the real world that the dissident must contend. Poland's reality—lying within the political and geographical orbit of a neighbor as powerful as the Soviet Union—is, Michnik claims, much like the global reality of living before the threat of nuclear warfare: one false step and all is lost.

The strength of *Letters From Prison* stems from the author's recognition that the pitfalls of politics may come from within the individual as well as from the system, whatever it may be. Michnik's argument is that human beings corrupt themselves, degrade themselves, bring honor upon themselves—in short, create themselves—according to the decisions they make. *Letters From Prison* is a strong statement of the author's own courage, intelligence and leadership.

—ERNA PARIS

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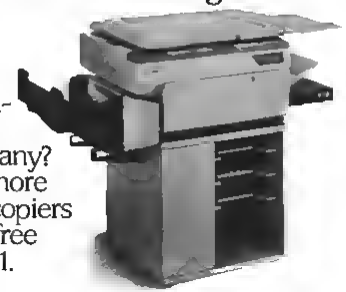
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Crime and punishment

JACKRABBIT PAROLE
By Stephen Reid
(Seal Books, 259 pages, $19.95)

A big-time Canadian bank robber, Bobby Andersen has an airplane, a Jacuzzi-equipped Arizona home and an accountant. Setting those trappings of criminal success aside, he flies to sunny California to try more hauls. Bobby is the hero of *Jackrabbit Parole*, the rivetting first novel by Stephen Reid. Reid has unique credentials for his literary excursion into high-stakes crime. The author, 36, is in the 14th year of a 21-year sentence for armed robbery at Kent Maximum Institute near Agassiz, B.C., and conceived his novel in a prison creative writing class. It particularly impressed poet Susan Musgrave; Reid married her last month. Since he entered jail, Reid has twice attempted "jackrabbit parole"—inmate slang for a prison breakout. Now he has made his most successful escape with a vivid story of crime and punishment.

Bobby, no ordinary hoodlum, suffers from pangs of guilt about his profession's brutal side. As the story opens, he and three accomplices rob a San Diego bank of $281,000. But after another robbery in San Francisco, Bobby becomes haunted by the image of a panicky young mother who crouched on the floor to hide her baby from his submachine-gun. Later he says "I know Butch Cassidy never made no young girl cry. I know Richard Milhous Nixon did—I saw her picture in every major journal of the period, running in naked burning terror down the middle of a road in Vietnam."

But Bobby likes the thrill of his illicit life. And author Reid effectively recreates that excitement, presenting a fast-paced succession of dramatic events: robberies, shootouts, arrest, imprisonment, escape. Reid treats Bobby's adventures with sardonic humor, giving way to darker meditations on the world of crime. Through it all, Reid maintains a romantic view of his hero tempered with a neat bit of irony. The novel ends with a maturing but basically unrepentant Bobby attempting one more getaway. With his funny, appealing and revealing novel, Reid demonstrates that he too has more than enough power to take readers on a joyride of the imagination.

—LINDA CAHILL

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LePierre, Watson: drawing millions of viewers and the wrath of the government

Death of a firebrand

INSIDE SEVEN DAYS: THE SHOW THAT SHOOK THE NATION
By Eric Koch
(Prentice-Hall, 350 pages, $19.95)

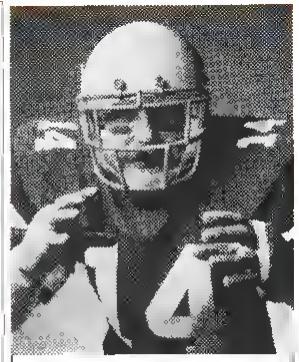
The CBC TV program *This Hour Has Seven Days* was, as author Eric Koch asserts, "exciting, revealing, cocky, fearless, accusatory, emotional, titillating." Only the finest journalistic talents could have conceived and nurtured a public affairs program that, in its best moments, informed its viewers with an incandescent intelligence—and outraged CBC management and government alike. Now, 20 years after the program's sudden death, Koch's engrossing book, *Inside Seven Days*, asks who killed the provocative Sunday-night program in its second year. The story becomes a real-life whodunit of the first order.

Koch, a novelist and himself a former CBC producer, does a masterly job of presenting all the evidence, enabling readers to reach their own verdict. The principal players included the program's coproducers, Douglas Leiterman and Patrick Watson, and Watson's cohost, Laurier LaPierre. Among the opponents were senior members of CBC management, Opposition Leader John Diefenbaker and Prime Minister Lester Pearson. When *Seven Days* first aired in October, 1964, Diefenbaker and other critics of the CBC attacked the program's controversial items, including an interview with U.S. Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell and a report critical of the Vietnam War. That move assured priceless publicity: front-page headlines from coast to coast.

Of the 50 programs that *Seven Days* produced in its 17-month life, 12 items caused major confrontations with CBC management—including a satirical sketch that portrayed Pope Paul VI as a shameless publicity hound. Meanwhile, *Seven Days* was building an audience of unprecedented proportions. Four weeks after it premiered, the show averaged 1.6 million viewers. By March, 1965, it had 2.1 million and by the final show in May, 1966, just under 3.3 million—almost half the total English-language TV audience at that time.

That month CBC management refused to renew the contracts of cohosts Watson and LaPierre. A battle erupted that travelled to a parliamentary committee on broadcasting and eventually to a mediator personally appointed by Pearson. The CBC board of directors was incensed that an internal matter was being debated by a parliamentary committee. As Koch writes, the nightmare had become true: "Politicians were dabbling in the most sensitive area of all, public affairs programming, blindly unaware that, far from saving *Seven Days*, they were busily undermining the integrity of the CBC." Even for readers who never saw *This Hour Has Seven Days*, Koch offers a rare view of what makes TV journalism tick and how politicians and weak management can gum up the works.

—IAN MAYER



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Of Wales and men

THE OLD DEVILS
By Kingsley Amis
(Methuen, 294 pages, $24.95)

If there have been any doubts about Kingsley Amis's reputation as one of the English language's best postwar novelists, *The Old Devils* should put them to rest. This tale of the failures, faults and foibles of a group of friends moving ungracefully from middle to old age is as subtle as it is hilarious. It has little of the contrived feeling of such recent works as *Jake's Thing*. Instead, *The Old Devils*, which two weeks ago won the prestigious Booker Prize, is a fine comic novel with serious purpose.

Alun Weaver, minor poet, author and television personality, left London with his wife, Rhiannon, to spend his declining years in Pedwarsaint, the South Wales town where he grew up. A vain man with carefully touched-up snow-white hair, he sees himself becoming an even more important personality in his native Wales than he was in England. His wife and friends—the "old devils" of the title who congregate in a local pub, the Bible and Crown—tolerate Alun's professional Welshman act as long as he refrains from taking himself too seriously.

But soon, Alun's triumphant return extends to conquests in the bedrooms of his friends' wives. The novel plots apparent punishment for Alun, but *The Old Devils* operates on too many levels for anything to be quite that simple. walking the thin line that separates comedy from tragedy, Amis is surefooted. The squalid indignities of old age, particularly, become vehicles for a sad kind of mirth. Peter, one of Alun's fattest drinking friends, has grown increasingly preoccupied with the problem of cutting his toenails. If he cuts them in the house, his wife complains about walking on the fragments. But the long, jagged nails keep ripping his underpants as he gets dressed, forcing him to dress socks first.

Amis is in his best form, poking fun at the foolish with unerring accuracy. There is a delicious pastiche of the tortured English of a self-confessed Welsh American, Pugh. Before meeting Alun, Pugh explains that he is a member of a Welsh booster organization called the Cymric Companionship of the U.S.A. "In pursuance of which," he says, "my purpose today is to solicit Mr. Weaver to guest-visit with my home chapter of the Companionship for a designated period—consequentially, my desire to make his acquaintance."

The novel also dissects modern Welshmen with wit and perception. It seems impossible for Amis's characters to talk sincerely about being Welsh, because such talk has been debased by people like Alun Weaver who spend their lives trading on a fast-disappearing heritage. Toward the end of the book, Rhiannon says: "Wales is a subject that can't be talked about. Unless you're making a collection of dishonesty and self-deception."

It is as if Amis believes that there are some things that are too serious to be treated seriously—so he uses comedy instead. He even hints at a religious undercurrent for the novel, using the "old devils" at the Bible and Crown to make excessive puns on "Bible sessions" and the like. In the end, *The Old Devils* proves to be a strangely moral tale. It also turns, belatedly, into a surprising love story that gives the novel's final pages a note of qualified optimism. But then, unqualified hope would not be Amis's style.

—NICHOLAS HIRST

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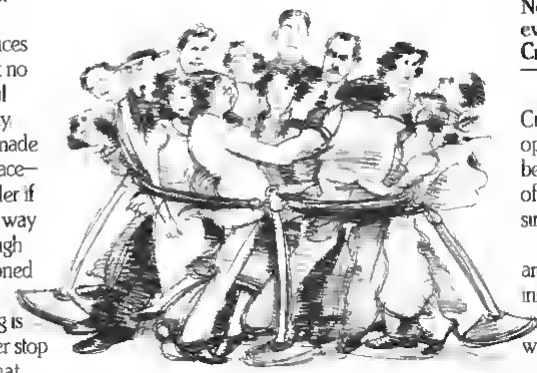
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HEALTH

Stress and a new plague

According to the doctors who are studying it, almost everybody in North America already has the Epstein-Barr virus, a type of herpes that affects the immune system And doctors say that like the deadly and incurable Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), there is no known cure for chronic Epstein-Barr syndrome, a disease that mostly strikes people under stress about age 30 with such flu-like symptoms as fatigue, nagging headaches and deep depression Because many doctors are unfamiliar with EB syndrome, sufferers can spend months in search of a diagnosis Said Ann Teehan, a 40-year-old mother of two in Fonthill, Ont., "A lot of doctors just write you off as crazy" And recent media attention—a Sept. 22 *New York* magazine article said that a "Yuppie Plague" was sweeping highly stressed people in Hollywood—will not likely create sympathy among disbelieving physicians

Medical researchers have known about the virus for more than 20 years, but chronic EB syndrome only became widely known in January, 1985, when the results of two research studies appeared in the Philadelphia-based *Annals of Internal Medicine* Now, researchers say that EB virus is a strain of the virus family that causes mononucleosis, chicken pox and cold sores But, said Dr Douglas Bishop, an Ottawa internist, "nobody really knows what causes it. One theory is that viral particles alter the immune system" He added that the virus lies dormant in about 90 per cent of the population over 30 and that most people will not be affected by it But there are concerns among doctors that the EB syndrome could become a convenient catch-all diagnosis for patients affected by tension, poor diet and lifestyle Declared Bishop, "It's fascinating and frustrating at the same time"

For an active mother, chronic EB syndrome meant deep depression, physical pain, total exhaustion and headaches

For those who suffer from it, says Bishop, EB syndrome could destroy both careers and marriages because it causes extreme fatigue, memory loss, swollen glands and an inability to concentrate A few weeks before Christmas in 1984, Fonthill's Teehan suddenly developed headaches, blurred vision and muscle aches. She stopped working as a provincial court stenographer and spent the next four months trying to find out what was wrong Still battling periodic bouts of depression, the once-active mother recalls, "All I felt was total exhaustion and physical pain." Teehan now works with 15 other Canadian EB syndrome sufferers as the Eastern Canada regional director of the Chronic EB Syndrome Association Teehan fits Bishop's profile of the typical sufferer: between 30 and 40 years of age, more women than men, very active, athletic, motivated and well-educated

Although medical experts are now aware of EB syndrome, they have not determined what triggers the dormant virus Allen D Allen, scientific director of the Center for Viral Diseases in Northridge, Calif., said that the virus is possibly an indicator of a disease of the immune system Declared Allen "The majority of patients who have been told they have EB virus and that there is no hope actually have other diseases like lupus, rheumatoid diseases or depression And they all have problems with their immune system caused by genetic propensities, stress and pollutants in the environment"



Teehan: mysterious flu-like symptoms and media claims of a 'Yuppie Plague'

Dr Dean Edell, a San Francisco physician who has a syndicated television show, has tried to publicize the syndrome. As a result of his extensive reading, he has come up with several theories about what triggers the virus. One is that another virus is present in a weakened immune system and activates the EB virus He also noted that stress and some pollutants are possibly strong enough to weaken the immune system sufficiently to activate the virus While Edell said that studies have shown that such substances as nail polish and paint may trigger the virus, he added, "It's still a mystery"

Faced with skeptical physicians, EB syndrome sufferers are joining support groups to help themselves In Portland, Ore., Gidget Faubion, president of the 5,000-member National Chronic EB Syndrome Association and herself an EB syndrome patient, said that most of the sufferers she knows have visited up to 15 doctors before being diagnosed correctly. And she estimated that there are at least 100,000 EB syndrome patients in North America

While some doctors dismiss it as a faddish disease, the EB syndrome sufferer must face the future knowing that any debate will not change the fact that something is very wrong

—KEVIN SCANLON with MARILYN BEKER in Los Angeles and ANNE STEACY in Toronto

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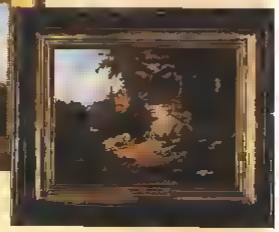
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Griffith, Daniels' a businessman's joyride that turns abruptly nightmarish

FILMS

Screaming with laughter

SOMETHING WILD
Directed by Jonathan Demme

The movie *Something Wild* begins as a giddy fantasy for every businessman in a three-piece suit who has ever daydreamed of turning his nine-to-five life upside down. It features a madcap heroine, Lulu (Melanie Griffith), who overwhelms, loosens up and finally seduces a likable but sober tax consultant named Charlie (Jeff Daniels). Wearing a coal-black Cleopatra wig and enough jewelry to start a street stand, Lulu observes Charlie skipping out on his lunch bill at a diner. Then, outside, she lets him know that she has witnessed the infraction. Calling Charlie a "closet rebel," she offers to drive him back to his Wall Street office. At once complimented and suspicious, he accepts—only to find himself speeding through the Holland Tunnel to New Jersey. "Take the afternoon off," the whisky-swigging Lulu suggests, and after several protestations Charlie agrees.

The first hour of *Something Wild* has the carefree feeling of an old-fashioned romantic comedy. And even when the story takes a bizarre twist, its attractions remain irresistible. After plying Charlie with liquor, Lulu handcuffs him to the bed of a motel room, rips off his clothes and proceeds to stifle any remaining objections he might have voiced to her company. Both Daniels and Griffith, in their first starring roles, bring an eager freshness to their performances. Daniels, like a young Cary Grant, has a droll, open face and elastic features. Griffith has a softly innocent voice, and teasing lips and eyes that suggest access to a vast database of sexual information. The two play off each other like gin and tonic—and the effect is just as bracing.

Trouble begins when Lulu brings Charlie home to her high-school reunion in Pennsylvania. Lulu, he discovers, has lied about everything, including her name, which is really Audrey. But Charlie has also been lying, telling her that he is happily married, when in fact his wife has recently left him. Until that point, the pair's relationship has been harmless. But with the appearance of Audrey's husband, a vicious ex-convict named Ray (Ray Liotta), *Something Wild* turns nightmarish. The charismatic Ray lures Charlie and the now-reluctant Audrey into another joyride that takes the movie to its horrifying finale.

Director Jonathan Demme (*Stop Making Sense*) keeps the initial comedy so light and even-tempered that the abrupt switch to terror comes like a frontal assault. In retrospect, the earlier part of the movie takes on an entirely different flavor: the laughter becomes the kind that catches in the throat and chokes.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Oriental overtures

TAI-PAN
Directed by Daryl Duke

A tangled yarn of European tea and silk traders in 18th-century China, James Clavell's novel *Tai-Pan* was at once formulaic and highly readable. But like a Chinese junk without a sail, the screen adaptation of the book is hopelessly becalmed. Clavell's complicated plot would better have been turned into a TV mini-series than condensed into a two-hour movie. Banishing any semblance of character development, the film version is a series of promotional trailers for itself, shifting from one ridiculously action-packed highlight to another.

Within the first hour, the emperor of China banishes Dirk Struan (Bryan Brown), the reigning Tai-pan, or leader, of the European traders. Struan is ordered deported from Canton for bribing local Chinese with opium in order to boost his commercial transactions. Meanwhile, his archrival, Tyler Brock (John Stanton), has forced him into bankruptcy. Help arrives in the form of Mary (Katy Behean), a European woman who owes Tai-Pan a favor for past kindnesses. She convinces her financially powerful Chinese lover to advance Struan the funds he needs to avert insolvency. Then, Culum (Tim Guinee), Tai-Pan's son by his wife in Scotland, arrives with the news that the entire Struan family back home has died of plague. But unwittingly, Culum takes sides with the sadistic Brock. There is more, if anyone is inclined to follow—including Tai-Pan's founding the colony of Hong Kong as a trading base. When a typhoon demolishes almost everything in sight, it is not soon enough.

The film was shot in the People's Republic of China, but Canadian director Daryl Duke (*The Thorn Birds*) has somehow managed to make the Middle Kingdom look as exotic as a Hollywood back lot. The script is an abomination. *Tai-Pan* boasts fortune-cookie dialogue, several beheadings, a castration, and the charmless Australian Bryan Brown wrestling with a Scottish burr. The villains, notably Brock's son Gorth (Bill Leadbitter), are too evil to be credible. The film-makers have overreached themselves. The book was a good potboiler; the movie is microwaved and utterly indigestible.

—L. O'T.

Love among the damned

SID AND NANCY
Directed by Alex Cox

What makes *Sid and Nancy* a particularly depressing film is that it is based on reality. John Simon Ritchie, better known as Sid Vicious, the bassist for the seminal British punk band The Sex Pistols, was notorious for his onstage acts of self-mutilation. Offstage, he played a Romeo with spiked hair to a Juliet in torn black-mesh stockings—Nancy Spungeon, a whining, spoiled American groupie. Sid's musical career was short-lived. A heroin addict, he and Nancy spent a bleak winter shivering and throwing up in New York's Chelsea Hotel, where in 1978 Sid allegedly stabbed Nancy to death. She was 20 years old. Four months later, after a suicide attempt, Sid, 21, died of a heroin overdose. The movie, beginning after Nancy's death and flashing back to when the two first met, turns the story of Sid (Gary Oldman) and Nancy (Chloe Webb) into one of the strangest star-crossed romances in the history of cinema.

Director Alex Cox (*Repo Man*) captures the spectacular energy of the punk movement in its formative years, characterized by the lovers' primal rages and infantile grasping at momentary pleasures. In fact, Cox almost sentimentalizes the pair. The naïve Sid loves pizza and his mother and hates the British establishment. Nancy is a blowsy, ambitious girl from New Jersey whom Sid bumps into on the road to hell. But Cox makes no attempt to explain the rationale of their rebellion, or the roots of punk's nihilism. And although Oldman and Webb deliver convincing performances, the movie soon runs out of steam. Sid and Nancy become perpetrators of what they claim most victimized them: boredom.

The movie's chief assets are the rudeness of its punk characters—often howlingly funny—and the affecting intimacy of the romance between Sid and Nancy. But its liabilities are legion. The symbolism of its surreal sequences is excruciating: at one point Sid and Nancy embrace in slow motion in a New York tenement alley with garbage raining down on them. Shapeless, anarchic and vague, *Sid and Nancy* is ultimately a draining experience. Neither saw a point to living: it is hard to see the point of watching them.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE



Newton, Taylor, Reid, Richard Waugh, Mezon: offending objects, perverse heroism

THEATRE

Echoes of a revolution

BREAKING THE SILENCE
By Stephen Poliakoff
Directed by Martti Maraden

Breaking the Silence, by English dramatist Stephen Poliakoff, measures the shock waves of an epic historical event on the life of a single family. The British hit play—making its North American premiere in a Shaw Festival Theatre production at Toronto Workshop Productions—takes place entirely inside a train's battered imperial railway car in the Soviet Union of the early 1920s. That unusual setting is home to the once affluent, middle-class Pesiakoffs, who have been evicted from their Moscow apartment by the new Bolshevik czars of the 1917 revolution. The father, Nikolai (Christopher Newton), has not accepted the relocation gracefully. Pampered and arrogant, he ignores his newly assigned duties as an inspector of telephone lines to concentrate on his calling as an inventor. The result is a near-tragedy for his family and an intriguing, if uneven, evening for the audience.

Despite its locale, *Breaking the Silence* is in part an old-fashioned drawing-room play in which dramatic tension springs from the application of various pressures to middle-class decorum and expectations. But further dimensions are suggested by the drama's title. *Breaking the Silence* refers to Pesiakoff's obsessive scheme for bringing sound to silent movies. It also reflects his family's increasing outspokenness against his despotism, and the vast silences of rural Russia—broken by the clarion call of the revolution.

As the single-minded egotist who putters at experiments while his wife and son go hungry, Newton is compelling. With his nose firmly in the air, he catches both Pesiakoff's ingrained snobbery and his perverse, stubborn heroism. And his comic timing is superb. When Pesiakoff's railway boss, Alexei Verkoff (Jim Mezon), mocks his fine English-made shoes, Newton stares at the offending objects for a moment, then brings down the house with the line, "I thought you had a revolution so you could dress like me, not me like you."

Unfortunately, Newton receives some unsteady help from the cast. Fiona Reid is generally strong as Pesiakoff's faithful wife, Eugenia, although she has trouble with the unconvincing climax, where the script sounds too much like a feminist manifesto. And both Mezon as Verkoff and Deborah Taylor as the Pesiakoffs' servant, Polya, seem less like earthy proletarians than slumming bourgeoisie. When it comes to a final balancing of pleasures and disappointments, *Breaking the Silence* breaks about even.

—JOHN BEMROSE

Acting against apartheid

Five actors burst onstage with a manic energy that belies their dull khaki prison uniforms. And for the next 90 minutes they tell stories full of the music and humor, the grief and rage of their native land. One critic has praised Mbongeni Ngema's play *Asinamali!* as "a kaleidoscope of impressions of life in the black South African townships, with breathtaking intensity and epic sweep." Another has called it "sidesplittingly funny and frightening." *Asinamali!*, a production of Ngema's Committed Artists company from Durban, was written in 1983 in honor of the martyred black leader Msizi Dube, who had led protests against rent increases in the township of Lamontville. His rallying cry—a Zulu term meaning "We have no money"—gives the play its title. But as *Asinamali!* continues its North American tour this month in Winnipeg, Edmonton and Ottawa, audiences will find that its political ferocity is matched by an acute sense of fun.

Although books and plays about black South Africans have often idealized their struggles, *Asinamali!*'s portrait of life in South Africa is unflinching. One of the prisoners in the play is a pickpocket who enjoys reminiscing about his thefts. "That's why the play is respected back home," suggested actor Bhoyi Ngema (brother of the writer-director). "*Asinamali!* doesn't censor itself." To the cast, such respect is even more important than the play's international success, which has led to a scheduled engagement in New York at the end of February.

Asinamali! began its foreign tour last April, opening to enthusiastic audiences in Harlem, New York City's black ghetto. Since then the actors have performed at festivals in Quebec City and Toronto, and they recently concluded a triumphant four-week run at the Centaur Theatre in Montreal. Standing ovations have become routine, even though *Asinamali!* contains some unnerving scenes. At one point, all five actors leap off the stage to search for informers, briefly subjecting the audience to a taste of the fear that is part of daily life in black South Africa. Onstage, the cast members are almost frenetic, offstage, they are plainly exhausted. "Yet for these guys," said U.S. tour manager Michael Cook, "every night is like an opening night." Cast member Thami Cele explained. "Before the show, we all travel in spirit to South Africa. It's what the playwright told us. We must never forget where we come from. We treat the show with love."

For the performers, *Asinamali!* is not just a piece of theatre. It is also a mirror of their own lives in the crowded townships near Durban. The script grew out of workshops at the time of Dube's rent agitation, the actors told Mbongeni Ngema what they had witnessed in the streets. The performers include a former postal clerk, a former factory worker and a former miner, all of whom belong to the 30-member collective. Committed Artists' Founder and playwright Ngema is also the co-author of another South African play, *Woza Albert!*, which opens in Toronto this month in a production by Johannesburg's Market Theatre.

Although the performers of *Asinamali!* say that they are eager to return home for Christmas, they have expressed concern about the reception that awaits them. One of the original cast members, whom police linked with Dube's protests, is still in South Africa and currently appealing an eight-year prison sentence. Shortly before leaving their country eight months ago, the actors narrowly escaped murder at the hands of Zulu vigilantes, who hacked the tour's promoter to death and burnt a hall where a performance of *Asinamali!* had just ended.

That atmosphere of terror has followed the troupe to Canada: a bomb threat disrupted the opening of *Asinamali!* at Toronto Workshop Productions last May. Yet the show remains remarkable for its rough and buoyant resilience, its joyful defiance of self-pity. "There's a saying in Zulu," says Thami Cele in a low, determined voice, "We laugh even though there is death."

—MARK ABLEY in Montreal



Asinimali! actors Bongani Hlophs, Bhaki Mqadi: music, humor, grief and rage

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

1 **It,** *King (1)*
2 **Red Storm Rising,** *Clancy (2)*
3 **Wanderlust,** *Steel (3)*
4 **The Progress of Love,** *Munro (5)*
5 **A Matter of Honour,** *Archer (4)*
6 **A Perfect Spy,** *le Carré (6)*
7 **Act of Will,** *Bradford (7)*
8 **Hollywood Husbands,** *Collins (9)*
9 **The Bourne Supremacy,** *Ludlum (8)*
10 **The Telling of Lies,** *Findley (10)*

Nonfiction

1 **The Rainmaker,** *Davey (2)*
2 **Vimy,** *Berton (1)*
3 **Fatherhood,** *Cosby (3)*
4 **Memoirs,** *Levesque (7)*
5 **His Way: The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra,** *Kelley (8)*
6 **Controlling Interest: Who Owns Canada?** *Francis (5)*
7 **James Herriot's Dog Stories,** *Herriot (6)*
8 **Fit for Life,** *Diamond and Diamond (4)*
9 **Both My Houses: From Politics to Priesthood,** *O'Sullivan with McQueen (9)*
10 **The Rotation Diet,** *Katahn (10)*

() Position last week

—Compiled by Frances McNeely

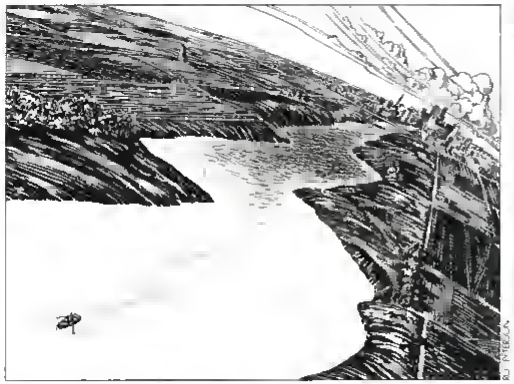
History in water instead of ink



By Allan Fotheringham

The most striking thing about the Canadian Prairies is the water flowing through it. The common conception is of a dry, arid plain, but its cities are marked by lovely rivers, which provide much of the character of the metropolitan areas they traverse. Rivers, of course, were the first highways of the Prairies, the avenues of commerce, and rivers dictated the location of Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton and Winnipeg. The history of that area of the country is the history of water.

You can't have a great city without a river flowing through it. London is the Thames, sweeping past the majesty of Westminster seeking the sea, a rich vein that most Londoners must cross at least once a day. The Seine, with its achingly beautiful bridges, is an expression of Paris's personality, a river more associated with its city than any other in the world. The Tiber is called the open sewer of Rome, but it is still the Tiber, and Rome wouldn't be Rome without it. One of the reasons why Leningrad is so much more attractive and livable than Moscow is because of the pervading presence of the Neva River. One of the reasons why Toronto was such a strange, dessicated city for so long was that, lacking a river in its heart, it even turned its back to its water, Lake Ontario, and built the core of the town well away from it.



Saskatoon, by comparison, cannot be imagined without its river, the South Saskatchewan. One still has the sense of the fur traders rounding a bend in their canoes, heavy with pelts and looking for a spot to land. The old stone railway hotel sits there on the banks, supervising the river, reminding the town of its roots as it rushes off to high-tech and potash futures.

The most spectacular river town in Canada is Edmonton, the entire personality of the city and its warp and woof dictated by the waterway. The deep river valley of the North Saskatchewan, carved by centuries of flow through the dark northern soil, makes a flat prairie town memorable because of the views across this huge canyon. The country's most imaginatively sited convention centre is built into the north slope, buried in the bank of the river, with conventioneers like so many muskrats in a burrow. (The new Canada Place sail-topped pier in Vancouver? We just take it for granted that everything in Vancouver is stunning.)

To get anywhere in Edmonton you have to wind your way down into the river valley and wind your way up the other side, a pleasant vista that makes the Alberta capital the only prairie city with a faint sense of what it would be like to live among mountains.

The river valley makes Edmonton far more interesting than Calgary, which has the most boring downtown section of any Canadian city. Nothing but glass and steel and one-way streets, it shouts of commerce and greed and male business. Calgary's river, the pleasant little Bow, is somehow shifted away from exerting itself on the city's personality and is mostly ignored. Someone should rescue it, restore it and tell Calgary about it.

Regina, the only important prairie centre without a river, long ago realized the lack and set out to do something about it. A completely artificial body of water, Lake Wascana, was created and instantly made the Saskatchewan legislative building into one of the most attractive capitals in Canada. Saskatchewan residents, the most politically sophisticated citizens in the land, learned during the Depression to improvise for themselves (which is why every Saskatchewan family of that generation contains one piano player, a violin player, a banjo player and possibly someone on the accordion), and since Regina wasn't gifted with a river it manufactured the next best thing, a lake.

Stately old Winnipeg, where you always feel as if you've stumbled upon some European city frozen in time, is lucky enough to have two rivers (obviously inheriting the one that missed Regina). The Red River curls and twists like a rattlesnake's tail through the town, joining up with the calm Assiniboine. There are few more pleasant spots in the summer in Canada than overlooking the brown waters of the Red in the posh River Heights area where all the grain millionaires stupidly built their mansions facing Wellington Crescent, their backs to the river.

Winnipeg is probably the best example of a city created by rivers and their confluence. The rivers were the highways for the fur trade and the Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg's mainstay—to be followed by the railroads. Now the railroads are dying, and Ottawa is continually shifting Winnipeg's air base tradition to Montreal.

One of the world's great rivers, the Fraser, is strangely all but invisible in Vancouver's daily life, sweeping around the city's southern belly before it dumps its brown load of silt into the Pacific. Vancouver doesn't really need it, having so much water on its northern reaches that it causes the calm, patient, soothing attitude with which the natives view the world and everything around them. It's impossible to move anywhere in Vancouver without viewing large expanses of water, and that is a balm to the soul—the reason for the passivity of the citizenry.

Montreal's St. Lawrence is so massive and sweeping that it doesn't really influence the city, as small thoroughfares do elsewhere. Ottawa is more interested in its Rideau Canal than it is in its rivers. But it's on the Prairies where the rivers are so important. They make the place.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for Southam News.





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